



T H E
LONDON MAGAZINE.

OCTOBER, 1741.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the
POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 441.

Upon the Motion made by Q. Fabius Maximus, as mentioned in our last, (Page 441.) the first that spoke against it was Cn. Domitius Calvinus, the Purport of whose Speech was as follows, viz.

My Lords,

THAT this House has a Right to inquire into the Conduct of past Measures, or that we may offer our Advice to the Crown, in relation to future Measures, are Questions that will never, I believe, be disputed by any Lord who has the Honour of a Seat in this Assembly; but the Questions that usually come to be disputed upon such Occasions, are, whether it is then necessary or proper for us to inquire, or to offer our Advice. As to an Inquiry into the Conduct of past Measures, I hope it will not be so much as alledged, that it is at all Times proper to inquire, or that we ever ought to set up such an Inquiry without some very good

Reasons for so doing; therefore, when an Inquiry is proposed, the two Questions that naturally occur, are, whether there be any Reason for the Inquiry proposed, and whether that be a proper Time for setting up such an Inquiry. To say, that a general Clamour among the People affords a good Reason for an Inquiry, is, in my Opinion, a very improper Rule for any Lord in this House to determine himself by; because there never was an Administration, whose Conduct was not clamour'd against by some; nor was there ever a publick Measure pursued, which was not misrepresented and complained of by some Persons in the Kingdom; therefore, it is very difficult, if not impossible, for any Lord to determine, whether or no a Clamour be general, and the deciding of this Question will appear still more difficult or impossible, if we consider the present Circumstances of this Nation.

Your Lordships all know, that we still have in this Kingdom a very numerous Party, who are disaffected

to our present happy Establishment: From this Party we must expect, that they will be continually endeavouring to raise a Clamour against the wisest Measures that can be pursued by the Administration; and in this they will always be joined by those, who find fault with publick Measures for no other Reason, but because they were not concerned in advising or prosecuting them. These two Bodies of Men will at all Times form a very considerable Party, and as the People in general are more apt to condemn, than to applaud the Conduct of Men in Power, the Endeavours of these two Bodies of Men will always be too successful; especially, as in this Kingdom every Man may not only speak, but write and publish, almost whatever he pleases, against the Government of his Country. Thus, whilst our present happy Establishment endures, which I hope will be as long as the World lasts, we must expect, that there will be a Clamour against the wisest Measures that can be pursued by the Administration; but such a Clamour will not, I hope, be said to be a sufficient Ground for this House to proceed to an Inquiry into the Conduct of past Measures; because such Inquiry not only takes up the Time of this House, which might be otherwise better employed, but it diverts the Attention of our Ministers, and forces them to apply to their own Justification and Preservation, that Care and Time, which ought to be applied to the Safety and Prosperity of the Publick.

A Clamour, therefore, among the People, however general it may appear, is not, I think, of itself sufficient to justify any Lord in giving his Vote for an Inquiry; consequently we must look for another Rule, by which we are to determine, whether there be a sufficient Reason for the Inquiry proposed, and

this Rule is, in my Opinion, very far from being difficult to be found. It is in short this: Before any Lord consents to an Inquiry into the Conduct of past Measures, he ought to consider that Conduct, and the Light in which it appears to him; and if upon a general Survey, he can find no Reason to suppose, that it has been extremely weak, or extremely wicked, he ought not to give his Consent to an Inquiry. I say, my Lords, extremely weak, or extremely wicked; for I do not think, that human Frailties or Oversights can afford sufficient Cause for this House to proceed to an Inquiry; nor can any publick Misfortune, afford such a Cause, if there appears to be a Probability, that it was owing to such Accidents as could not be foreseen, or such as could not be prevented, by those intrusted with the Management of our publick Affairs.

This, my Lords, is the only Rule for judging, whether we have at present a sufficient Ground for setting up an Inquiry into the Conduct of past Measures, and according to this Rule I can find no such Ground. We have as yet, thank God! met with no uncommon or unexpected Misfortune in the War in which we are now unhappily engaged. We have not as yet, perhaps, met with all the Success, which was at the Beginning expected by some sanguine Persons, who were ignorant of the Difficulties we had to encounter, and the dangerous Situation in which the Affairs of Europe happened to be, when we found ourselves obliged to declare War. But we have met with greater Success than could reasonably be expected by any Man, who was fully informed: We have already done the Enemy greater Mischief than they can repair for many Years; we have opened a most beneficial Trade to the Spanish Settlements in the West-
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West-Indies; and upon the Balance, I believe, we have taken a great deal more from the Enemy at Sea, than they have been able to take from us, notwithstanding the vast Disproportion between the Trade and Navigation of *Great Britain*, and the Trade and Navigation of *Spain*. These, my Lords, are considerable Advantages, and if we have not reaped greater, it has been intirely owing to the weak Condition we were in, when *Spain* made it absolutely necessary for us to issue Letters of Reprizal, by refusing that Satisfaction she had so solemnly promised in the late Convention. We had then no Troops on Foot, but such as were judged absolutely necessary for our Defence in Time of Peace, and we had not near such a Number of Men of War in Commission, as were necessary for guarding our Coasts, our Trade, and our valuable Settlements in the *Mediterranean*. It was therefore necessary to think of providing for our own Defence, before we could provide for attacking the Enemy; and as the Power of our Government is more limited than the Power of any other, every one knows the Difficulties our Government must always meet with, both in raising Soldiers and Seamen.

My Lords, if we had no disaffected Party amongst ourselves, or if we had, at the Beginning of the War, had no Enemy to fear but *Spain*, we might perhaps have ventured to have sent a few of our regular Troops for attacking *Spain* in the *West-Indies*, before we had replaced them by new Levies; but neither of these was the Case. We have still a disaffected Party amongst us, and though that Party may not of itself be formidable to the Government, yet, if the *Spaniards* had found Means to land 4 or 5000 regular Troops in any Part of *Britain* or *Ireland*, at a Time when we had

not a sufficient Number of regular Troops for our Defence, the Invaders would have been joined by such a Number of the Disaffected, as would have made it very difficult for us to support our Government at home, and consequently utterly impossible for us to attack the Enemy, or even to defend our own Dominions abroad. I know, that this will now be represented as a vain and ridiculous Apprehension, because, by the Wisdom and Care of our Ministers, the Danger has been prevented; but if they, by sending our Squadrons and Troops abroad, had exposed us to the Danger of an Invasion at home, and the Enemy had thereby found an Opportunity to land some Troops in *Britain* or *Ireland*, I am sure it would have afforded a much better Reason for an Inquiry into their Conduct, than any can be now assigned.

Therefore the Danger of an Invasion, even from *Spain*, was a good Reason for our delaying to send any Troops to the *West-Indies*, till a sufficient Number could be raised for that Purpose, which was done, in my Opinion, with all possible Dispatch, and the Fleet, with those Troops on board, sailed as soon as the Winds would permit; for I hope it will not be imputed to any Misconduct of our Ministers, that the Winds continued for two or three Months in the western Corner. But *Spain*, my Lords, was not the only Enemy we had, or have yet to fear: There is another Potentate in *Europe*, whose Interest it is to prevent this Nation's extending its Dominions in *America*, and therefore we had Reason to apprehend from the Beginning, that he would join with *Spain* against us, if he saw any Probability of doing it with Success. The only Method we had to prevent this Probability, was to provide for our Defence, both by Land and Sea, in such a Manner, as to

prevent its being in his Power to do us a Mischief here at home, or give a Check to our Arms abroad, even though he should openly join with *Spain* for that Purpose; and this made it necessary for us to keep greater Armies at home, and more powerful Squadrons upon our Coasts, than we should otherwise have had Occasion for. Even the very Suspicion of our designing to make Conquests upon *Spain* in *America*, has, we find, made this Potentate send his Squadrons to the *West-Indies*: What they intend to do there, is not as yet known; but if they intend any Thing against us, it is to be hoped, his Majesty's Squadrons, now gone thither, will be able to give a good Account of them. I am far from supposing, they have Orders to join with *Spain*, or to act any Way against this Nation; but their having failed thither justifies the Suspicions of our Ministers, and shews, that they were in the Right to provide against the worst, especially here at home; for Nature itself teaches us to guard chiefly the most vital Parts, and even to expose the Members for preventing a Blow in any vital Part.

Thus, my Lords, our not having till very lately sent any Land Force to the *West-Indies*, may be easily accounted for; and the ill Success of all our former Expeditions against *Old Spain* must shew, that it would have been very imprudent in us to make any such new Attempt. Such Attempts must always put this Nation to a vast Expence; and whatever Profit private Men may get by Plunder, the Nation can expect no Advantage, nor can we greatly distress the Enemy, by any such Attempt, let it prove ever so successful. The chief Thing we had to do in the *Mediterranean*, or upon the Coasts of *Spain*, was to protect our Trade and our Settlements in that Part of the World, which we

have effectually done; and the only Thing we could reasonably pretend to do in the *West-Indies*, till after we had provided for our Defence at home, was to prevent the Return of the *Galleons*, which we have likewise effectually done: Nay, by the Conduct and Bravery of the Admiral which his Majesty was pleased to send thither, we have done a great deal more; for by the Demolition of the Fortifications at *Porto Bello* and *Chagre*, we have made it impossible for any *Galleons* ever to return, as long as the War continues between *Great Britain* and *Spain*. This of itself must bring great Distress both upon the Court and Kingdom of *Spain*, and will at last compel them to submit to reasonable Terms, without our making any Conquests in that Part of the World, which will, in my Opinion, be a dangerous Attempt, not only because of the Difficulty attending the Experiment, but because it may unite all the trading Powers of *Europe* in a League against us.

Therefore, my Lords, as Things appear to me from those Circumstances that are publick, I can see no Reason to find fault with the Management of the War, and consequently I can see no Reason for our giving either ourselves or the King's Servants the Trouble of inquiring into their Conduct. I say, my Lords, as Things appear to me from those Circumstances that are publick, which every one of your Lordships is as good a Judge of as I am; for I do not pretend to argue from any secret Intelligence; if I had the Liberty to do so, I might perhaps give a much greater Weight to my Argument; I might perhaps be able to clear the Administration of every Suspicion of Misconduct; but this I do not think necessary, because in the present Case it is sufficient to argue from publick Appearances; it is from them those
Lords

Lords must argue, who happen to have no Share in the Administration; and if from them we find no Reason to suspect our Ministers of extreme Weakness or Wickedness in the Conduct of publick Affairs, we can have no sufficient Ground A for setting up a Parliamentary Inquiry, which must always be troublesome, if not dangerous, and can be attended with no national Advantage, when there has been no Error in our publick Conduct. For to imagine that such an Inquiry, let B it be ever so strict and impartial, would pacify the Clamours without Doors, is, in my Opinion, a very vain Imagination. There are no Clamours but among the Disaffected and Discontented; as to the former, nothing will ever satisfy them, but C the total Overthrow of our present happy Establishment, which the Nation has great Reason to dread; and as to the latter, nothing will ever satisfy them, but the total Overthrow of the present Administration, which the Nation, I think, D has no Reason to desire.

But suppose, my Lords, that from publick Appearances we had some Reason to suspect the Administration of Mismanagement in the Prosecution of the War, is this a proper Time to enter into a Parliamentary Inquiry into that Mismanagement, or to call for the Papers necessary for that Purpose? To enter into such an Inquiry, and to have such Papers laid before this Assembly, *pendente Bello*, would certainly be attended with the most fatal F Consequences: It would of course discover all our Secrets to the Enemy, and not only prevent our being able to attack them with Advantage, but instruct them how to attack us in the most tender and defenceless Part: It would not only G lay open all the Government's hidden Channels for secret Intelligence, but would expose those who had

conveyed, or engaged to convey that Intelligence, to certain and inevitable Destruction; and this would be of infinite Prejudice in all Wars we may hereafter be engaged in; for no Foreigner would ever engage in a secret Correspondence with any of our Ministers, lest, by a Parliamentary Inquiry, his having engaged in such a Correspondence should be discovered to his own Court, and he exposed not only to Punishment, but to indelible Infamy and Re- B proach.

My Lords, the Dangers, the Inconveniencies, the certain Mischiefs attending such an Inquiry, are obvious and innumerable; because it is impossible to carry on the Inquiry without having all the Papers laid before us, that relate to the Conduct of the War; and as it is impossible to keep Papers secret, that are once laid before this House, therefore it ought to be laid down as a Maxim, that, *pendente Bello*, no Inquiry into the Management and Prosecution of that War can be set on Foot. This the noble Lord appears to have been sensible of, when he made his Motion, and therefore he took care to conclude it with an Exception, as to those Parts of Orders or Instructions, which relate to any particular Design, yet remaining to be executed. But do not your Lordships see, what an Heap of Confusion you are going to call for? The Instructions given to an Admiral, employed against the Enemy, at such a Distance as the *West-Indies*, must relate to many particular Affairs, and to several particular Expeditions, some of which may have been executed, and others perhaps remaining to be executed; and these must be so intermixed, that if you were to have the Parts relating to the former, without having at the same Time communicated to you the Parts relating to the latter, the Whole would appear to be down- right

right Nonsense: It would be impossible for you to get from thence any such Information as could be depended on, or to form any Judgment of the Conduct of the War. Those Parts, therefore, that relate to Designs already executed, can be of no Service to you, if they were communicated, and by this very Exception you admit, that those Parts which relate to Designs yet remaining to be executed, ought not to be communicated.

Thus your Lordships must see, that the Motion, as it stands at present, is inconsistent with itself, and therefore it must be inconsistent with your Lordships Wisdom to agree to it. But farther, my Lords, there may be Articles in the Admiral's Instructions, which relate to no Design that has been, or is to be executed, and yet they may be such as ought not to be made publick. There may be Articles relating to the Places where, and the Persons to whom, or the Methods by which he is to apply for secret Intelligence; and these your Lordships will, I believe, admit, ought not to be made publick by being communicated to this House. In short, I do not see how you can agree to this Motion, unless you alter the Exception, and conclude thus, Except such Parts of those Orders and Instructions, which contain Secrets that ought not to be divulged; and what Use an Address for Instructions, with such an Exception at the Tail of it, can be of to your Lordships, I confess, I do not comprehend.

From these Reasons, my Lords, I must be of Opinion, that you cannot, consistently with the publick Safety, call for any of the Instructions that have been given to Admiral *Vernon*; but as to the Orders that have been given him, such as sailing Orders, Orders for Repairs, or Orders for Victualling, and the like, most of them, I believe, may

be communicated without Danger, and therefore your Lordships may address for having them laid before you, if you think fit; for upon this Occasion I must observe, lest some of your Lordships should mistake, that there is a very great Difference between the Orders and Instructions given to an Admiral: The former seldom contain any great Secret, the latter generally do; and therefore the former have often been communicated to Parliament, but the latter have seldom or never been call'd for: At least, I believe I may say, they have never been called for, till those Affairs were intirely over, to which they could be any Way supposed to relate.

Having now shewn, my Lords, that we have no Reason for setting up a Parliamentary Inquiry into past Measures, and that if we had, the present is not a proper Time for it, I shall next observe, that supposing it were both proper and necessary for your Lordships to give your Advice, with regard to our future Conduct, I do not see how, for this Purpose, it is necessary for you to see the Instructions given to Admiral *Vernon* before the 24th of *June* last; for the Posture of Affairs, both in *Europe* and the *West-Indies*, is so much altered since that Time, that those Instructions can no Way contribute towards your Information, or towards your determining what Advice you ought to give upon the Posture of Affairs, as they stand at present. Therefore, as the Papers now moved for, are no Way necessary for this Purpose, and as an Inquiry into the Management of the War, would be not only improper but unsafe, as long as the War continues, we can at present have no Occasion for seeing these Orders and Instructions; and for this Reason, I must be against the Motion.

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The next Speech I shall give you, was that made by M. Agrippa, which was in Substance thus:

My Lords,

WE have, I think, almost every Session of Parliament some Distinction started, where there is really no Difference, and some new Maxim introduced, which is inconsistent with the fundamental Maxims of our Constitution. To lay it down as a Maxim, that no Parliamentary Inquiry into any Part of the Management of a War, is to be set on Foot, *pendente Bello*, is to tell us, that with regard to the conducting of a War, where Mistakes are most dangerous and irreparable, our Parliaments are quite useless. This Maxim, indeed, is very much a-kin to another Maxim I have often heard in this House, That you must not inquire into the Conduct of a Negotiation, till the Negotiation be concluded. These two Maxims, I think, if they were admitted, would effectually exclude our Parliaments from ever intermeddling in foreign Affairs; at least it would prevent our intermeddling, till the Mischief had become irreparable. In domestic Affairs, which neither relate to War nor Peace, you may intermeddle; you may rectify the Blunders of your Minister, you may prevent the Mischief before the Remedy is out of your Power: But in foreign Affairs, you shall not inquire into a Negotiation, till that Negotiation ends in an infamous Treaty, which your Inquiry cannot set aside; or in a heavy War, which might have been prevented by a well-conducted Negotiation, and which your Inquiry cannot put a Stop to: You shall not inquire into the Conduct of a War, till by the Blunders of Ministers our Fleets and Armies are destroyed, and the Nation obliged to submit to a dishonourable Peace,

when your Inquiry can neither restore your Fleets and Armies, nor prevent the fatal Consequences of a dishonourable Peace.

This, my Lords, is the true State of the Doctrines lately broached in Parliament; and from stating them in their true Light the Ridiculousness of them must appear: I am sure no independent Parliament will ever admit of them, and it is but very lately since they have been contradicted by the Practice of Parliament. In the Year 94 we were engaged in a more dangerous War than the present; in that Year the War was in its greatest Fury, yet this did not prevent the Parliament's inquiring into the Conduct of the War. No Minister then presumed to tell them, that such an Inquiry was not to be set on Foot, *pendente Bello*; on the contrary, the Inquiry was promoted both by the Ministers and by the Admiral concerned: The former were conscious they had given such Orders and Instructions as were right, and the latter was conscious he had pursued his Instructions to the utmost; therefore both joined heartily in promoting the Inquiry, and in furnishing the Parliament with every Thing that could be thought necessary for that Purpose, in order to remove the groundless Clamours that had been raised against them. They did not pretend, that the laying of the Admiral's Orders or Instructions before Parliament, would discover the Secrets of our Government to the Enemy: They were both laid before Parliament; for whatever Distinction may be made between Orders and Instructions, there is no real Difference: An Instruction must be as exactly observed, and as punctually pursued, as an Order, and an Order may contain Secrets, as well as an Instruction; and when an Inquiry is set on Foot, both must be laid before Parliament, for without the

the Instructions, as well as the Orders, it would be impossible for the Parliament to proceed. If there be in either any Secrets which ought not to be discovered, his Majesty is to acquaint his Parliament with it, and upon that Information which can be taken from none but his Majesty, a secret Committee is to be appointed, or the Inquiry put off, till a more convenient Season.

To tell us, my Lords, that we can ask for nothing but failing, victualling, or repairing Orders, is to tell us, we can do nothing but the Drudgery-Work of Ministers. Little Contracts about Victualling, or about naval Stores, are not to be inquired into here: The other House may inquire into them; but most properly, it is the Business of Ministers; for they are to take Care, that all their little under Agents do their Duty: If they do not, it is our Business to inquire into the Conduct of the Ministers, and to punish them for their Neglect. I hope some of our Ministers have been for vigorous Measures; and they, I hope, will inquire, how all the vigorous Measures they had concerted, have been intirely disappointed, or very much retarded, by little under Agents: It is their Business to remove and punish those under Agents; and if they find they cannot do so, if they find those under Agents protected by a Power, which they cannot encounter, it is their Duty to call for the Assistance of Parliament; for I hope there is no Power in the Kingdom, which a Parliament will not dare to encounter; I hope there is no Power in the Kingdom, which a Parliament may not be able to defeat.

To me, my Lords, it is surprising to hear, that no Lord in this House can determine, whether or no a Clamour be general: We cannot, perhaps, count Noses, and tell the exact Number of those that

clamour, and of those that do not; but surely we can tell when the Conduct of publick Affairs is found fault with, and exclaimed against by great Numbers of Men, who are governed neither by Disaffection nor Disappointment. This is the Case at present, and as generally so, I believe, as ever was known in this Nation; I believe there is not a Man in the Kingdom, absolutely independent, that will say, he is thoroughly satisfied with the Management of the War: Even by Placemen and Officers it is exclaimed against, in all Companies where they think they can speak their Mind with Safety. The Clamour is general over the whole Nation, and no Wonder it should be so: The People have last Year paid *four Millions* towards a vigorous Prosecution of the War, and yet nothing done, but what has been done without any expresse Orders from our Minister. Is not this a good Reason for Complaint? Will not the People expect from us a Reason, why their Money has been thus thrown away, without any Effect? And can we give them a Reason, without the least Inquiry into the Affair? In this Session of Parliament, we must again load the People with *four Millions* for next Year: They will pay it willingly, if they find the Parliament as ready to censure as applaud; but they will pay it with Regret, with Murmuring, if they find, that those who impose such heavy Taxes upon the Publick, take no Care of their being applied in the most proper and effectual Manner to the publick Service.

If we should return to the Country, my Lords, and tell the People, that our Government durst not send our Forces out to invade the Enemy, for fear of their invading us, will not every Man of common Sense laugh us to Scorn? Does not every one know, that the best Way

to prevent an Invasion is to invade? Did not the *Romans* send *Scipio* to invade the *Carthaginians* at the very Time that *Hannibal* was in *Italy*, and almost at their Gates? But the Case with us is still stronger; we could easily have invaded the Enemy, when and where we pleased; whereas it was difficult and dangerous, if not impossible for them to invade us at any Time, or in any Place. To pretend, that we must always keep a mercenary Army of 30,000 Men in *Britain* and *Ireland*, for supporting our Government against an Invasion with 4 or 5000, must be ridiculous, or it must be a very bad Compliment to the Illustrious Family now upon our Throne; because it is supposing, that they have few or no Friends in the Nation, but those they keep in daily Pay. And to say, that a common Soldier, who has no Property, who has neither *Ara* nor *Focus*, will fight against a foreign Invader with more Courage and Resolution, than those that fight *pro Aris & Focis*, is, I am sure, a very unjust Reflexion upon all the Gentlemen, and all the Men of Substance in the Kingdom.

But, my Lords, we were, it seems, to guard against an Invasion from *France*, as well as *Spain*; and for this Reason we were obliged to keep our Squadrons and our Armies at home, instead of sending them out to invade our declared Enemy. I am sorry to hear, that an Administration which has so long and so effectually served the Court of *France*, an Administration which so lately joined with them in pulling down the overgrown Power of the House of *Austria*, an Administration which so lately left the *Emperor* to their Mercy; I say, I am sorry, that such an Administration should have the least Cause to suspect, that *France* would invade us, or that she would join with *Spain* in such an

unjust War against us. But suppose, my Lords, our Ministers have now at last found, that the Gratitude of *France* towards this Nation is not to be depended on, which they have often been warned of: Suppose they had good Reason to suspect, that *France* would invade us, if she could find an Opportunity; yet those who knew what Condition the Navy of *France* was in, when the War broke out between *Spain* and us, and I hope it will not be said that our Ministers were ignorant of it, could not be under the least Apprehension of an open and considerable Invasion from *France*; and if they had attempted to invade us by Stealth with 4 or 5000 Men, I hope the Gentlemen of any County in *Britain*, with their Tenants and Servants, will always be able to give a good Account of such a small Number of foreign Invaders; for I shall not mention the Militia, because, as they are regulated and managed, they are so far from being Troops, that they can scarcely be accounted Men.

I am therefore of Opinion, my Lords, and I believe the greatest Part of the Kingdom are of the same Opinion, that we had no Occasion for above one Half of the Troops we had on Foot at the Beginning of the War, for protecting us against any Invasion, either from *France* or *Spain*. We might, therefore, at the very Beginning of the War, have spared to send a much greater Number of Troops, and a more powerful Squadron, than we had Occasion for, to the *West-Indies*; and if we had any well-grounded Suspicion, that *France* would at last join with *Spain* against us, or attempt to limit the Operations of his Majesty's Arms, it was so far from being a Reason for keeping our Troops or our Squadrons at home, that it was a strong Argument for sending them out, in order

to make a vigorous Push, and to gain as much as we could from the *Spaniards*, before the *French* could come to their Assistance, which we knew they could not do, till they had repaired and augmented their Navy. This was what our Ministers ought to have done, unless they were resolved, from the Beginning, to carry on the War according to Directions from the Court of *France*, and to push it no farther than that Court should give them Leave; which, I am afraid, was the Resolution of some of them, tho', I am convinced, not of all; and this is, in my Opinion, an unanswerable Argument for a Parliamentary Inquiry: It ought to be an Argument with many of those concerned in the Administration, that the Guilty may be detected, and the Innocent relieved from that Load of Reproach, which now lies indiscriminately upon the Whole.

Therefore, my Lords, if it was the Duty of our Ministers to have sent a Land Force to the *West-Indies* at the very Beginning of the War, and if they could have done so, without exposing the Nation to any Danger at home, they were guilty of Misconduct, long before they could plead contrary Winds for an Excuse. Contrary Winds are not to be found fault with, because of him who is the Author and Director of Winds. Thank God! they have been often in Favour of this Nation. In Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, they did us a signal Favour; *Afflavit Deus, hostesque dilabuntur*, she therefore took for a Motto; and if they were against us last Summer, it was perhaps a Judgment, on Account of our having so long neglected the Means we had daily in our Power: But I am far from thinking, that the Winds were the sole Cause of our Fleet's lying so long at the *Isle of Wight*; this is a Question, which is now *sub Judice*, and is to be de-

termined by this House upon an Inquiry, when it will perhaps appear, that the Winds were not the sole Cause of that Fleet's delaying to sail, till his Majesty came to put an End to all Contradiction; but be this as it will, the Delay was in some Measure lucky for us: If it had sailed two or three Months sooner, it would not have been so strong; and in that Case, the *Spanish* and *French* Squadrons might, perhaps, have been able to destroy it in the *West-Indies*; whereas both of them joined together are not now to be feared, especially if it gets to the *West-Indies* before Admiral *Vernon* meets with any Misfortune, which, I think, he will be very much exposed to, if the *French* have any Design to join the *Spaniards* against us; and if he should, I do not see how our Ministers will be able to excuse their having had so bad Intelligence, both of the *French* Designs, and of the sailing of their Squadrons.

My Lords, as I have mentioned Admiral *Vernon*, I must observe, that I am surprized to hear our Ministers assume to themselves, by way of Excuse for their Conduct, any Thing that has been done by that Admiral in the *West-Indies*. If we consider the Method in which they began the War, and the Time that Admiral was sent out, we cannot suppose, they gave him Orders, or that they intended he should attack any of the *Spanish* Settlements in *America*. And if we consider their Opinion of the Strength of *Porto Bello*, and the small Force they furnished him with, we can far less suppose, they intended he should attack that Fortress: At least, if we make any such Supposition, we must add to it another, that they intended that both he and the Ships they put under his Command, should be destroyed. As our Ministers began Hostilities by Reprizals, and as Ad-

Admiral *Vernon* was thereupon sent to the *West-Indies*, we must suppose, that he had no Orders or Instructions for any Thing but Reprizals: These, we may suppose, considering the Temper of the Man, were in the most ample Terms, *To seize all Ships, Vessels, and Goods belonging to the King of Spain, or his Subjects, or others inhabiting within any of the Territories of the King of Spain; and these the Admiral interpreted in the most ample Manner, by concluding, that he might seize Goods at Land, as well as by Sea, and demolish every Thing that opposed him.*

I could almost engage, my Lords, that his Orders were in the Words I have mentioned, or something to that Effect; and I have good Reason to believe, that he received no additional Orders or Instructions, till after his taking and demolishing the Castle of *Chagra*; so that neither of Admiral *Vernon's* Expeditions is to be imputed to the Conduct of our Ministers; for if he had not put a Construction upon his Orders, which few but himself would have done, we should have heard no more of his Exploits in the *American* Seas, than we have heard of our other Admiral's Exploits in the *Mediterranean*: But he put that Construction upon his Orders, which the Honour and Interest of his Country required, tho' perhaps not that which some in the Administration intended. In so doing, he did right; his Country has already approved of his Conduct, and I trust in God! his Country will be able to protect him against all his Enemies, be they *Spanish* or *English*.

Thus I have shewn, my Lords, that from the Method in which our Ministers began the War, and the Time when Admiral *Vernon* was sent out, we cannot suppose, that he had Orders for attacking any of the *Spanish* Settlements in *America*; and as they had before publickly

declared it as their Opinion, that Admiral *Hofier* could not propose to attack *Porto Bello* with Success, notwithstanding the strong Squadron he had under his Command, we can from thence far less suppose, that they gave Orders to, or intended, that Admiral *Vernon* should attack that Fortress, since they did not furnish him with half the Force. This, as I have said, we cannot suppose, without adding another Supposition, which, I believe, no Friend to our Minister will be fond of admitting. But Mr. *Vernon*, it seems, knew better than they; he knew that Castles are a vain Defence against Ships of War: He then declared his Opinion; and soon after his Arrival in the *West-Indies* he confirmed his Opinion by Experiment: He attack'd *Porto Bello*; he carried it; and thereby he shewed the true Spirit of his Countrymen, their Intrepidity in attacking, their Moderation in Victory, their Disinterestedness in the Use they make of it, and their Honour in observing Capitulation. In all these Particulars their very Enemies commend them; and this, the *Spaniards* themselves allow, was Mr. *Vernon's* Behaviour at *Porto Bello*.

Let me now, my Lords, state the Case fairly and distinctly. It is allowed on all Hands, that the proper Method for distressing the Enemy, or gaining a real Advantage to this Nation, is to take and hold some of their Settlements in *America*; therefore, the only proper Orders that could be given to any Commander in that Part of the World, was to endeavour to take Possession of some of those Settlements; and for this Purpose, he ought to be furnished with a proper Force; but Admiral *Vernon* was not furnish'd with a proper Force. If he had carried but two Battalions along with him, he would not have destroy'd, but would have kept Possession of the Castles,

both at *Porto Bello* and *Cbagra*. This would have been a real Advantage to this Nation, and would have brought such a Distress upon *Spain*, as would, probably by this Time, have forced them to a Submission. From hence it is evident, that there must be a Fault somewhere: If Mr. *Vernon* had no proper Orders, they are guilty, who neglected to give him such Orders; if he had proper Orders, they are guilty, who neglected, for no less than 18 Months, to furnish him with a proper Force. After this, will any Lord say, that we have no Reason to inquire into the Management of the War? Will any one say, there is no Ground for the Clamours that are so loud and so general without Doors?

Thus your Lordships must see, that you are not desired to proceed to an Inquiry into the Conduct of the War, without a most solid, a most apparent Reason; and if there be such a Reason, I am sure, the sooner we go about an Inquiry, the better; for we may thereby prevent most fatal Mischiefs, perhaps irreparable Ruin, that may be brought upon the Nation by another Year's Mismanagement of the present War, and by the Mismanagement of another more dangerous War, which this Nation may, in all Probability, be engaged in, before we meet again in this House. The noble Lord who made you the Motion, has taken all possible Care to obviate the modern Objection, relating to the Danger of discovering Secrets. He does not desire to see what relates to Designs, yet remaining to be executed. Surely, if the Whole of the Instructions be not a Heap of Confusion, every distinct Design must have a distinct Article, and therefore I cannot join with the noble Duke, in supposing they are so intermixed, that the one cannot be understood without the other. But a short and a full Answer to all such Objections is, that if his Majesty

should, by way of Answer to our Address, inform us, that what we call for contains Secrets, which ought not to be discovered, or that the Articles relating to Designs already executed, are so intermixed with the Articles relating to Designs yet remaining to be executed, that the one cannot be understood without the other; I say, if his Majesty should by his Answer give us such an Information, we must appoint a few of our Number, as a secret Committee, and desire, that all such Instructions or Papers may be laid before them; for there are many Lords in this House, who must be allowed to be as fit to be intrusted with the Secrets of our Government, as any Minister employed by his Majesty; and if we do appoint such a Committee, I hope we shall chuse such Lords, as have never been intrusted with any Secrets of the Minister.

But suppose, my Lords, that no Inquiry into the Conduct of past Measures were at present necessary; suppose that the Nation, as well as this House, were fully satisfied with the Conduct of our Ministers; yet surely, if ever we exert our Privilege of being the great hereditary Council of the Crown, we ought to exert it upon this Occasion, an Occasion perhaps the most important that ever this Nation saw. The Affairs of *Europe* are at present in such a ticklish, such an unhappy Situation, that one wrong Step in the Conduct of this Nation may involve *Europe* in irrecoverable Thralldom. Shall we then, at such a critical and important Conjunction, for fear of disobliging a Minister, refuse or neglect to make the proper Use of our Birthright? Shall we, for fear of discovering the Secrets of Government, delay doing our Duty to our Country and Sovereign, as if no Lord in this House were fit to be intrusted with the Secrets of his Coun-

Country, but such as happen to be the Favourites of the Minister. Secrets, my Lords! I do not believe, the Government has had any Secrets this twenty Year, that are of such Importance, as to make it of great Signification to the Nation, whether they are discovered or no: The Minister, indeed, may have many Secrets of Importance, but they are such as ought to be discovered, that the Nation may see how it has been governed, that his Majesty may see how he has been served. I hope, therefore, no Fear, no Pretence, shall prevent our making use of our Birthright, and performing that Duty we owe both to our King and Country: I hope we shall upon this Occasion give our most serious, our most sincere Advice to our Sovereign. Can we do this without being fully informed of the State of our Affairs both at home and abroad? Can we get this Information any Way, but by having all Papers laid before us without Reserve, that relate to any important Transaction our Government has been of late Years engaged in?

The noble Duke has told us, that the Posture of Affairs is very much altered since *June* last. My Lords, I shall grant it; but the present unlucky Posture of Affairs is owing to the Posture they were then in, and the unlucky Posture they were then in, was chiefly owing, I believe, to the shall I shall I Conduct of our Ministers for several Years before. If they had begun and prosecuted this War with Vigour, it would have recovered the Character of the Nation: It would have attached to us our antient Allies; and it would have prevented any Power in *Europe* from daring to disturb the Tranquillity thereof. Therefore, before we can give any Advice to our Sovereign, we must see the Orders and Instructions given to our Admiral in the *West-Indies*, because if they appear to be such as I suspect they

are, the first Advice we ought to give to our Sovereign must be, to remove from his Councils those that advised the giving of such Orders and Instructions.

My Lords, if this Motion be agreed to, it will encourage Lords to move for other Papers, that may be necessary for our Information upon this important Occasion. Even the Papers now moved for may shew us, that a thorough Inquiry into our Affairs is become necessary, that for this Purpose all Papers must be laid before us without Reserve, and that therefore we must name a secret Committee for inspecting those Papers, that contain or mention any Affairs which ought not to be discovered. But if this modest Request be disagreed to, can any Lord expect Success in any Motion of the same Kind? And, I am sure, without having the proper Materials before us, we can neither inquire into the Conduct of past Measures, nor give any Advice to our Sovereign with regard to future Measures; therefore, my Lords, upon this Question, insignificant as it may appear to some, the Fate of this Nation, the Fate of *Europe*, must, in my Opinion, depend. If it is agreed to, we shall be able to search the Ulcer to the Bottom, and in that Case we may find a Remedy: But, if it passes in the Negative, I shall expect to see the Liberties of *Europe*, and consequently the Liberties of this Nation, overturned, by the same Sort of Conduct, by which they have been brought into their present Danger.

The next that stood up was L. Icilius, whose Speech was to this Effect:

My Lords,

I Shall be extremely ready to agree to an Inquiry into any Part of the Conduct of past Measures, as soon as a proper Opportunity offers for

for that Purpose; and I shall be so, I believe, for a Reason very different from that by which some Lords are swayed. I shall be for it, because, I am convinced, it will fully justify our present Ministers, and vindicate their Conduct from all the Aspersions that have been groundlessly cast upon any Part of it so inquired into; but a general Inquiry into the Conduct of all past Measures, especially such as just then happen to be upon the Anvil, is unprecedented and dangerous for the publick Safety, and therefore, I shall never, for what I know, agree to it. Your Lordships have often inquired into the Conduct of a particular Affair, or into the Conduct of a particular Expedition; but I remember no Example of your having set up a general Inquiry into all the Measures of an Administration; and as little do I remember your having inquired into any publick Measure whilst it was in Agitation, or into the Conduct of any particular Expedition whilst it was in the Prosecution, and not fully compleated or laid aside. When the War is concluded, I do not know but your Lordships may make a general Inquiry into the Management of the War, from the Beginning to the End; or even during the War, you may pick out any particular Expedition, when it is over, and no Hopes of resuming it, and you may inquire how it was conducted, in order to find out the Reason why it was not more fortunate; for when the Event has proved as fortunate as could be expected, your Lordships can have no Occasion to inquire into it. But till the War is at an end, you cannot safely, and therefore ought not to set up a general Inquiry into the Prosecution of it; nor can you safely, and therefore ought not to inquire into the Conduct of any particular Expedition, till it is quite laid aside.

This, my Lords, is what is meant by not setting up an Inquiry *pendente Bello*, and the admitting of this as a Rule for your Conduct, can be attended with no Mischief to the Nation, nor can it any Way derogate from the Privilege or Usefulness of this Assembly; for if your Lordships should at any Time be of Opinion, that a War has been imprudently conducted, you may, even during the War, pick out some Part of it, some one Expedition which is quite over, and which you think has been the worst managed; you may inquire into that Part of the War, and by that Means you may remove the Guilty from having any Thing farther to do in the Management of the War. Thus your Lordships must see, that this Maxim can be attended with no bad Consequence, and the Reason for admitting it is plain; because, by a general Inquiry before the War is at an end, or by an Inquiry into any particular Expedition before it is quite laid aside, you would discover such Secrets to the Enemy as might prevent any future Success.

That this would be the Consequence of the present Motion, should it be agreed to and comply'd with, is, I think, highly probable. It is certain, if the Instructions and Orders given to Admiral *Vernon* are such as they ought to have been; what they are I do not know, for I never had Occasion to see any of them; but if they are such as they ought, and such as I hope they will appear to be, there must be many Articles in them, which will make it very improper to lay them before this Assembly. My Lords, to lay them before this House would be the same with publishing them; we may as well desire they should be sent to the Court of Spain, as desire they should be laid before us; for when we consider how many Strangers are daily attending our

Debates, and how many Persons have free Access to our Table, we must conclude it impossible to keep any Thing secret that is once laid before us. The Exception which the noble Lord was pleased to add to his Motion, is no Salvo for this Objection; for there must be many Things in the Instructions, which do not relate to any Expedition yet remaining to be executed, and, nevertheless, are such as ought not to be published. In the Time of a very prudent and vigorous, tho' unlawful Government, we had a War with *Spain*. An Admiral with a strong Squadron was then sent to the *West-Indies*, and in his Instructions there was a particular Description of all the *Spanish* Forts and Settlements in that Part of the World, with very proper and just Remarks upon each: There was likewise an Account of all the Informations we had relating to them, and the Places where, and Persons from whom, he might expect any Advice or Assistance. May we not from thence suppose, that the Instructions given to Admiral *Vernon* are of the same Nature? Suppose they contain an Account of all the strong and weak Places in the *Spanish West-Indies*, and Directions how each of them may with the greatest Facility be attack'd: Suppose they contain an Account of all the secret Intelligence, our Ministers have had from that Part of the World for many Years past, and the Persons Names who gave them that Intelligence: Suppose they contain an Account of the Places where, and the Persons to whom, the Admiral might apply for future Intelligence: Suppose they contain an Account of the most defenceless Places in our own Plantations, and the Methods which the Admiral is to take for securing them. These Suppositions, my Lords, are not imaginary: I do not make them *ad libitum*: I make them, because

'tis highly probable they are true: and if they are, I am sure it would not only be improper, but vastly imprudent, to publish these Instructions, which will be the Case if you agree to the Address proposed, and his Majesty complies with it; for such Instructions cannot be positively said to relate to any Expedition, yet remaining to be executed.

But if your Lordships say, that such Articles of the Instructions, as contain all or any of the Particulars I have mentioned, must be supposed to relate to all Expeditions, whether already executed, or yet remaining to be executed, and are therefore within the Exception the noble Lord has been pleased to add to his Motion: In this Case, I shall grant, your Address can do no Harm; but then I shall be against it, because, from the Arguments made use of in its Favour, it must appear, that it can do no Good, nor produce any Effect; and I think it inconsistent with the Wisdom and Dignity of this House to offer an Address to the Crown, which can be of no Service to ourselves or the Publick. This, I say, my Lords, appears from what has been said by the noble Lords, who have spoke in Favour of the Motion. They say, it is not possible to suppose Admiral *Vernon* had any Orders or Instructions to attack *Porto Bello*, or the Castle of *Chagra*: These are the only Expeditions, the only Designs already executed: What then are you to address for? For nothing. If the Admiral had no Instructions for either of these Purposes, all his Instructions must some Way relate to Designs yet remaining to be executed; and consequently you can expect nothing from his Majesty in Pursuance of your Address. Thus it appears, that you must either mean to address for nothing, or for something that is inconsistent with the publick Safety; and in either Case,

Case, it is what I cannot agree to.

I have often heard it said in our Debates, that if Lords were in Earnest in their Professions, they would agree to what was proposed. My Lords, I hope I shall be excused, when I say, this is not Parliamentary Language. All Sides are supposed to be in Earnest in every Thing they profess: Charity obliges us to believe, that every Lord is in Earnest in what he says, and Decency obliges us to avoid insinuating he is not. I know there have been Examples of a contrary Behaviour on both Sides; but whatever Clamours there may be without Doors, the Regard we owe to the august Assembly of which we are Members, should, upon all Occasions, make us bridle our Tongues, and be extremely cautious of using any harsh Expressions, or making ugly Insinuations, with respect to one another: Whilst we do this, we may be very easy about the Clamours without Doors; for it is a Sort of Parliamentary Art, that has been practised by all Parties, To make Motions in Parliament, which they know it is not possible for the opposite Party to comply with, in order from thence to raise a groundless Clamour without Doors, that those who refuse to comply with such Motions, are not sincere in what they profess.

I have already made one Profession; I began, my Lords, with professing, That I shall always be ready to agree to this House's inquiring into any Part of the Conduct of past Measures, when a proper Opportunity offers for that Purpose. Whether or no I am in this believed to be sincere, is what I do not know; but I am myself conscious that I am, and therefore I shall, without Scruple, to this add another Profession or Declaration, which is, That I shall always be ready to approve of our exerting our Birthright, in

giving our most sincere Advice to the Crown, with regard to future Measures, provided it be done in a decent Manner, and upon a proper Occasion. From a great Authority we have learned, That in a Multitude of Counsellors there is Safety; but it is equally true, that in a Multitude of Counsellors there is no Secrecy: This may shew us, upon what Occasions it is proper for us to offer our Advice to the Crown. In Affairs of a publick Nature, where all the Circumstances may be communicated to us, without endangering the publick Safety, and when the Affairs are of great Importance to the Nation or the Crown, it is very proper for us to take them into our Consideration, and to offer our best Advice to the Crown: But in all Affairs of a secret Nature, where many Circumstances are such, that they cannot be discovered to a numerous Assembly, without endangering the publick Safety, it is not proper for us to offer our Advice, because we cannot be fully informed: At least we ought not, unless called upon by our Sovereign to do so, and then, if we do, it can only be upon publick and general Appearances; therefore, even upon such Occasions, when we offer any Advice, it ought to be with great Deference to our Sovereign's better Information. For this Reason, the Wisdom of our Constitution has intrusted the Care and Conduct of Peace and War solely to the Crown, because nothing relating to any Treaty of Peace ought to be published, till the Treaty be finally concluded, and every Thing relating to War ought to be resolved on and conducted with the greatest Secrecy.

I shall grant, my Lords, that the present Occasion is extremely important: I shall grant, that a very wrong Step in our Conduct may be fatal to the Liberties of Europe, as well

well as our own; but I do not see how your Lordships can prevent it. The Importance of the present Occasion relates intirely to what the Wisdom of our Constitution has intrusted solely to the Crown: It relates intirely to the conducting the War we are now engaged in, and the conducting such Negotiations, as may be necessary for preventing, or enabling us to carry on another. Can you, in either of these Cases, with any Propriety, offer your Advice? You cannot pretend to offer your Advice, as to the Conduct of the War we are now engaged in, without having every Circumstance relating to it laid before you; and this may occasion, instead of preventing your Ruin: You cannot pretend to offer your Advice, as to the Conduct of those Negotiations that may be necessary for preventing, or for enabling you to carry on another War, without having the present Circumstances of *Asia*, as well as *Europe*, fully laid before you, with all the secret Intelligence our Government may be supposed to have relating thereto; and this would not, I am sure, be a proper Method to render any of your Negotiations successful. Therefore, I hope the noble Lords, who seem to be so fond of our offering our Advice upon this Occasion; will excuse me, if I think they are desiring us to make a very wrong Step, for fear our Ministers should make one; and this I should be against, had I a much worse Opinion of our Ministers than I have.

In short, my Lords, tho' I have a very great Opinion of the Wisdom of those, who at present happen to be the constituent Members of this Assembly, yet I am for trusting more to the Wisdom of our Constitution, than to theirs. Our Ministers will for their own Safety take the best Methods they can think of, both for conducting the War, and for conducting our Nego-

tiations; and if their own Wisdom should fail them, I hope Providence will direct them to take the most proper Methods for bringing the War to a happy and speedy Conclusion, and for preserving and establishing the Liberties of *Europe*.

L. Piso stood up next, and spoke in Substance as follows, viz.

My Lords,

THO' Charity obliges us to believe, that all Men are sincere, till the contrary evidently appears; and tho' Decency often obliges us to avoid telling them they are not so, yet one cannot help a Suspicion arising in one's Breast, when we find Lords professing their Readiness to join in an Inquiry; or in exerting our Birthright of being the great Counsellors of the Crown, and yet upon all Occasions opposing it, and in Support of their Opposition offering such Arguments, as, if they were admitted, would render it impossible for this House ever to inquire into the Conduct of past Measures, or to offer any Advice in relation to future. The noble Lord says, we ought never to offer our Advice in Affairs relating to Peace or War, that is to say, in any foreign Affairs whatsoever, unless called upon by the King to do so. My Lords, I know nothing else we can have Occasion to offer our Advice in, unless it be, whether the King shall go to the Play or the Opera, whether he shall shew Mercy to a Thief, or order him to be hanged, or something of equal Importance; for in all domestick Affairs of any great Importance, our King, thank God! is limited by the Laws, and ought not to transgress them, even tho' this House should advise him to do so. And as to our being called upon, we know from Experience, that tho' this House be the hereditary great Council of the Crown,

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yet our Advice is very seldom asked in a serious Manner. Kings, my Lords, are generally for consulting with such as are of their own chusing, and these are often such as have no Dignity, Privilege or Right by their Birth. We know, the greatest Empire that ever was on Earth, was once governed by the sole Advice of a freed Slave; and one of the greatest Empires now in being is generally governed by the Advice of a Cabinet Council of Eunuchs, and such as they shall chuse for their Privy Council; therefore, if we never offer our Advice, but when it is seriously asked by the Crown, I am afraid we shall very seldom exert that Privilege, which is our Birthright.

How this House has of late Years come to be so much suspected of blabbing, I do not know; but it is a very new Doctrine, to say, that nothing can be communicated to this House, without making it publick. The very first Instance of our being refused any Paper we thought necessary for our Information, for fear it should be thereby made publick, was in the Year 1721. Since that Time, indeed, it has been commonly and frequently practised; and yet, whatever Secrets our Ministers may have had since that Time, I do not think the Nation had ever fewer in any equal Period of Time. This new Doctrine therefore is not of above twenty Years standing; and as I disapprove of many of the new political Doctrines started in that Period, so I likewise disapprove of this. I do not think it can be approved of by any Lord who considers, that we can, whenever we please, shut every Stranger out of the House: We may even shut out our Clerks, or we may name a secret Committee of a very few Members. This, I say, we can do; but we have no Occasion to do so, till his Majesty tells us that the

Papers he is to lay before us require it.

I must therefore lay it down as a Maxim, That we not only may, but that we sometimes ought to offer our Advice in Affairs of Peace and War, or in Affairs of the most secret Nature; and that, in order thereto, we may and ought to call for all Papers that are necessary for our Information. I say, my Lords, we not only may, but sometimes ought to offer our Advice; and our

Duty in this Respect is to be determined by the Notion we have of the Minister's Conduct, and by the general Appearance of Things. It is observed, that every Author has a particular Stile or Spirit in Writing; so, I believe, every Administration, or every Minister has a particular Stile or Spirit in his Conduct: If we judge of the Stile or Spirit of our present Minister's Conduct from what is past, which is the only Way we can judge, we must conclude, it is a blundering Stile, it is an evil Spirit. Can we expect, that he who gave Admiral *Hofier* Orders to persuade the Enemy's Ships to surrender, and to lie with his Squadron, till it rotted, before a Sea-Port which Mr. *Vernon* has taken with a fourth Part of the Force; I say, can we expect, that he will give proper Orders to any Admiral? Can we expect, that he who in 1727 allowed *Spain* to carry on a War for two Years against us, without so much as attempting to give them one Blow, will carry on the present War with Vigour? Can we expect, that he who conducted our tedious Negotiations with *Spain* to the late most honourable Convention, will conduct any Negotiation to a happy and honourable Conclusion?

The noble Lord told us, that we have no Occasion to inquire into the Conduct of an Expedition, when it has met with all the Success that could

could be expected: I say the same of our foreign Affairs in general. When the Sky all around appears to be serene: When no Cloud seems to be hanging over us, we have no Occasion to interpose by our Inquiry and Advice; but when the Sky is overcast, when Clouds appear ready to overwhelm us in a Deluge, it is then the Duty of this House to interpose, we ought then to inquire into the Conduct of past Measures, in order to give his Majesty our Advice about future.

Thus, my Lords, if we consider the past Conduct of our Minister, if we consider the present Appearance of Things, we must conclude, that at this Time it is our Duty to interpose with our Advice, and for that Purpose to make a thorough Inquiry into past Measures, and into the present State of our Affairs. Shall we trust the Management of a War, which ought to be prosecuted in the most vigorous Manner, to the Advice of a Minister who, from the whole Tenor of his Conduct, appears to be pusillanimous and irresolute? In the dangerous State in which the Affairs of Europe are at present involved, shall we trust the extricating of them to the Advice of the very Man who, for what we know, nay in all Appearance, has been the chief Cause of their being so involved?

Having thus, my Lords, shewn, that we not only may, but sometimes ought to offer our Advice to the Crown, even with respect to foreign Affairs, or the Affairs of Peace and War, and as a thorough Inquiry is necessary for enabling us to give proper Advice, therefore it is evident, not only that we may at any Time, but that we sometimes ought to inquire into the Conduct of such Affairs. But suppose we were not upon this Occasion to offer any Advice to the Crown, yet a general Inquiry into the Conduct of past

Measures may be necessary, in order to punish or remove a Minister, who, we think, has given weak or wicked Advice to our Sovereign. Upon this Subject, the noble Lord who spoke last seemed to admit, that we may inquire into the Conduct even of Affairs relating to Peace and War; but then says he, you must not make a general Inquiry into the Conduct of a War till it be concluded, nor into the Conduct of any particular Expedition, if there be any Hopes of its being resumed, which, he says, is the true Meaning of the Maxim, that *pendente Bello* no Inquiry is to be made into the Management of a War. I have already shewn, that the Foundation of this Maxim is false, because an Affair may be inquired into by this House, without the least Danger of discovering to the Enemy any Secrets relating to it. But I must beg Leave to examine this Maxim, as the noble Lord has explained it, a little farther.

Your Lordships must allow, that it is our Duty in this House to prevent a Mischief when apprehended, as well as to punish the Authors when it has been brought upon us: It is our Duty to prevent the Mismanagement of a War, as well as to punish those who have mismanaged it. If Incendiaries were setting Fire to a House, it would be very ridiculous in the Proprietor to sit still, and allow them to do so, in Hopes of being able to apprehend and punish them after they have burnt his House down about his Ears. Would not this be the very Case, if it were to be admitted as a Maxim, that for Fear of discovering the Secrets of our Government to the Enemy, this House must never inquire into the Conduct of a War till it is concluded, that is to say, till by Misconduct and bad Success, we are obliged to submit to a dishonourable Peace? Suppose the Per-

sons chiefly employed in conducting the War were Traitors: Suppose they themselves discovered all the Secrets of our Government to the Enemy; would it not be ridiculous in this House, to suspend our Inquiry for Fear of discovering Secrets, we had good Reason to believe to be already discovered?

The noble Lord was sensible of these ridiculous Consequences from his Maxim, and therefore he thought of an Expedient: He told us, we might inquire into some particular Expedition that had miscarried, and from thence find Means to remove those that had been guilty of Misconduct. But his Expedient will, upon Examination, be found, like all our modern Expedients, good for nothing. Suppose the Misconduct is in not prosecuting the War with Vigour: Suppose no one Expedition has ever been undertaken, which is the present Case, how will you remove the Guilty by inquiring into the Conduct of some particular Expedition? Suppose the Miscarriage of an Expedition was not owing to those employed in carrying it on, but to the Treachery of those that contrived and advised it, how will you discover or remove the Guilty by inquiring into the Conduct of that particular Expedition? My Lords, the Expedient is equally absurd with the Maxim. By an Inquiry into the Conduct of any particular Expedition, the Misconduct of under Agents and Officers may be detected and punished, which is not the Business of this House; but the Misbehaviour or Treachery of chief Ministers, who are the only proper Objects of our Resentment, can never be come at, or they thereby removed from having any Thing farther to do in conducting the War. This can only be done by a general Inquiry, which therefore ought to be set on Foot, or some Steps made towards it, as soon as

there arises the least Suspicion of any Misconduct.

This, my Lords, is the present Case. There is a Suspicion that Admiral *Vernon* had no proper Orders. I think it is evident, either that he had no proper Orders, or that he was not provided with a proper Force; and therefore, I think, that in one or other of these Cases a parliamentary Censure must ensue. But before we can proceed, we must have a parliamentary Knowledge, which of these Cases we are to apply it to. If he had proper Orders, our Censure must be applied to his not being provided with a proper Force. If he had no proper Orders: If he had, as I suspect, no Orders, but only a general Order for Reprizals, and to protect our own Trade in that Part of the World, we can pass no Censure upon his not being provided with a proper Force, because he had sufficient for that Purpose. But then, I think, we ought to pass a Censure upon his being sent out with such puny Orders, against an Enemy that merited our highest Resentment.

From hence your Lordships must see, how necessary it is to have his Orders and Instructions before us, because without them we can have no parliamentary Knowledge how to apply our Censure, and consequently can pass no Censure, tho' every one of your Lordships were convinced that we ought. If Mr. *Vernon's* Orders are all right, and such as they ought to be, I shall most heartily condole with our Ministers in case your Lordships should put a Negative upon this Motion. But if your Lordships do put a Negative upon it, and I find the Friends of our Minister concurring in that Negative, I shall hugely suspect, all is not right; for if I were to purchase an Estate, and the Seller should tell me, he had a very good Title, but

for certain Reasons could not shew it me, I am sure, I should not believe a Word he said, and much less pay him the purchase Money.

The noble Lord said, he could not agree to this Motion, because, from the Arguments made use of in its Favour, it appeared we were to address for nothing: I shall grant, that if Mr. *Vernon* had no Orders to attack *Porto Bello* or *Chagra*, his Majesty can lay nothing before us in Pursuance of this Address; but it is this very Nothing we address for. If his Majesty returns for Answer, that no Part of Mr. *Vernon*'s Instructions relates to any Expedition already executed, we shall then have a Parliamentary Knowledge, that he had no Orders for attacking *Porto Bello* or *Chagra*; and if he had not, I will averr, he had no proper Orders; therefore this Address may have a very good Effect for the publick Service, tho' his Majesty should lay nothing before us in Pursuance of it.

The Fortresses of *Porto Bello* and *Chagra*, my Lords, lay so open to our Attacks, and it was so necessary for us to possess or demolish them, in order to open a Trade with the *Spanish* Settlements, that it was a most flagrant Piece of Misconduct, if Mr. *Vernon* had no Order to attack them: It was, I think, a most flagrant Piece of Misconduct, not to send him out with a proper Force for taking and holding them, at least during the War. But this, we are told, would have brought the *French* against us, who have taken the Alarm upon hearing only, that we were preparing to send a Land Force to the *West-Indies*, and have therefore sent their Squadrons thither, to prevent our Designs: If they have sent their Squadrons thither with this Design, they can do no more, and as these Squadrons will not, I believe, be able to prevent our Designs, if vigorously exe-

cuted, I hope we shall proceed. But I do not believe, the *French* intended to attack us, or to join openly with the *Spaniards* against us; I believe, they sent their Squadrons thither, only to frighten us: They know from Experience this may be done. We have for these twenty Years generally begun with a Sort of Bullying, that is, with putting ourselves to the Expence of fitting out our Squadrons, and augmenting our Armies; but when we found that would not do, we have always grown as tame as Chickens, and have allowed ourselves to be bullied out of, and into, every Thing our Enemies pleased to insist on.

No Menaces from *France* can, therefore, be an Excuse; and as I suspect, that such Menaces were a Reason with our Minister, for not furnishing Mr. *Vernon* with proper Orders, I am the more curious to see them; but the noble Lord who spoke last, has furnished me with a new Argument, and such a one as I neither did, nor could before think of, for having these Orders laid before this House. He says, he never saw them: This, my Lords, is very surprizing: As the noble Lord has said so, it must be true; and as he is not only one of his Majesty's Privy Council, but also, I believe, one of his Cabinet Council, and without Derogation I may say, as able a Statesman as any Lord in either, it is to me a Proof, that Mr. *Vernon*'s Instructions were never under the Consideration of his Majesty's Privy or Cabinet Council, and therefore, I think, they ought now to be taken into the Consideration of this House, which is his Majesty's great Council: Nay, we ought to consider this very Point, why they were not laid before his Majesty's Cabinet Council. The noble Lord said, that in the Multitude of Counsellors there is no Secrecy. It seems, there is some one of great Influence

Influence about his Majesty, who is of the same Opinion, and therefore he took Care, that no one should see these Instructions but himself. This convinces me, they were not right, for if they had, I can see no Reason for so much Secrecy; and therefore, I think, we ought to address for them, that they may be altered or amended, for I doubt if this can be done in any other of his Majesty's Councils.

If there are no Secrets in these Instructions, my Lords, but those of the Nation, no Harm could ensue from having the Whole laid before us, because if they ought to be kept very secret, we could treat them accordingly. It is easy to make Suppositions about what may be in them, but it is as easy to make Suppositions of what may not be in them: I could make Suppositions of this Kind, which, from the Style and Spirit of our Minister's Conduct, are more probable than those the noble Lord has been pleased to make; and his Lordship has owned his being in the same Case with me: Neither of us can assert. If then no Harm could ensue, at least to the Nation, from having the Whole laid before us, surely no Danger is to be apprehended from having laid before us the Nothing, or the Something, now proposed to be addressed for. But, my Lords, according to the modern Way of arguing upon all Occasions, when Papers are proposed to be addressed for, and with Regret I must confess, according to the late Behaviour of this House, we never can inquire into the Conduct of a Minister, till after his being dismissed the Service of the Crown: When he has lost that Favour, upon which his Influence depends, and is given up by the Crown to be buffeted by the Parliament, we may then, and not till then, have such Papers laid before us, as are necessary for inquiring into his

Conduct. This, I say, seems to be the Result of those Arguments that have for some Time prevailed in this House; but I hope it will never become an established Maxim, for if it should, the Parliament will then be made use of, not to buffet those that deserve it, but to buffet every Man that happens to be so unfortunate, as to fall under the Resentment of the chief Favourite of the Crown for the Time being; which, in my Opinion, would be a most terrible State of Things, and as our agreeing to this Motion will be one Step towards preventing it, therefore I shall most heartily concur with my noble Friend in the Motion he has made you.

[This JOURNAL to be continued in our next.]

To the PUBLISHER of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

D S I R, York, Sept. 24, 1747.

I FIND, by an Introduction towards an Essay on the Origin of the Passions, lately publish'd at London, that some one of our modern Metaphysicians intends to prove, That the Passions and Affections of the human Mind are no other than Associations of Ideas of our own making, or what we learn of others; and in particular, that what is commonly called the moral Sense, is no other than certain Associations of Ideas, which we either make ourselves, or learn of others. I suspect, this Author mistakes the Meaning of what is properly called Passion or Affection; for my Opinion is, that the moral Sense, by which I mean, that inward Approbation of what we think right, and Abhorrence of what we think wrong, which every Man feels, is in general an Affection of the human Mind, implanted in it by the Author of Nature; but that, with regard to any

any particular Action, the same great Author has left it to our Reason, and the other Faculties with which he has most bountifully indued the Mind of Man, to determine, whether it be right or wrong; and from thence I am of Opinion, that if Men would make a free and impartial Use of their Reason, there would be no Difference in Opinion about the Righteousness or Wickedness of any particular Action, or Sort of Action: This, however, is, what Mankind have never done, nor will, I believe, ever do.

Education, Custom, and the Company we converse with, have, in this Respect, such an Influence upon Mens Opinions, that the most heinous Crimes are often converted into Virtues, and the most transcendent Virtue may sometimes be made criminal or ridiculous, in the Opinion of a whole Nation. For this Reason, it is the Duty of every Man, when he observes any such Attempt in his own Country, to endeavour to expose it, in order to prevent his Countrymens being led into Error by a prevailing Custom or Fashion. This has oblig'd me to become your Correspondent; and amongst the vulgar Errors which at present seem to be prevailing in this Nation, the first I shall take notice of is, That we have now amongst us a most numerous and powerful Set of Men, who make use of all their Art, and all the little Wit they are Masters of, to render ridiculous a Gentleman's speaking with Warmth and Emotion, or publishing what he speaks, in any publick Assembly. When a Gentleman speaks with an Emphasis, let it be never so natural and just, they call it Theatrical; and if he publishes what he has said, let it be never so necessary for the publick Good, they call it Vanity. According to them, a young Gentleman, pleading the Cause of his Country, is Theatrical, if he shews any greater Emotion than an

old Serjeant, pleading for Half a Guinea at the Bar of the *Common Pleas*, who may properly enough be said *Verba*, but never *Iras locare*; and if any Gentleman publishes what he has said, it is not owing to his publick Spirit, but merely to his Vanity.

My first Design, therefore, in this Letter shall be, to prevent my Countrymens being misled by these Pretenders to Mirth and Raillery, and to shew, that whoever speaks in a publick Assembly, *upon that Side which he thinks right*, is in Duty bound to make use of all the Eloquence he is Master of; and that in many Cases he is in Duty bound to publish the Speech he has made, when he can recollect what he said, and has Time to digest it, so as to make it fit for Publication.

Eloquence is an Art, or rather a natural Gift, that has been admired in all Ages and Countries, and will always be of great Use to Mankind, when it is applied to a right Purpose; therefore, no Man will pretend to undervalue it, or attempt to render it ridiculous, but he that is not only conscious of the Meanness of his own Genius, but envious of every Perfection in other Men; or, he that chuses another Method of persuading, or of being persuaded, besides that of Reason and Argument.

As for those that are conscious of the Meanness of their own Genius, and governed by Envy, it is no Wonder to see a little Fellow, who by Nature is fit only for a Buffoon, without one Quality necessary for making an Orator; I say, it is no Wonder to see such a Man darting his low Jokes at a Qualification, which, he knows, he himself can never arrive at. This is a common Effect of Envy; and tho' it may do some Mischief, when the envious Creature happens to be in a high Station, yet most People will soon become

become sensible of his true Motive, and the general Laugh will be at him, instead of being with him. But the great and the most dangerous Enemies to Eloquence are those, who chuse another Method of persuading, or of being persuaded, besides Reason and Argument; because those who have it in their Power to chuse any other Method of persuading, must always be in high Stations, and the Number of those who chuse another Method of being persuaded, will daily increase, in Proportion to the Time that other Method has been practised.

There are but three Methods of obtaining the Consent or Approbation of any popular Assembly or Number of Men: By the Power of Eloquence, or Reasoning in its highest Perfection; by the Power of Money; or by the Power of the Sword. The first is the only Method practised in a free Country; the other two are the Methods by which absolute Governments support themselves; and therefore we find, that in free Countries Eloquence has always been much cultivated, and highly esteem'd; whereas, in absolute Monarchies it is generally neglected, discouraged, and ridiculed; because in the latter, the Approbation of one Part of the Society is purchased, and by their Means the rest are forced to submit. In such Monarchies, the Government does not seek to convince the Understanding, but to purchase or compel the Will; and therefore Eloquence can never be of any Service to the Government, but if joined with Virtue may be a most dangerous Enemy; for an eloquent virtuous Man may inspire the Multitude with Courage, and the Corrupt with a Love for their Country, which will render it impossible for the Government either to purchase or compel.

In all free Countries, therefore, the People have Reason to beware of those who endeavour to explode the Use of Eloquence, or to turn it into Ridicule; and when this is done by Men in Authority, it is a most dangerous Symptom for Liberty; because it is a certain Prognostick, that they have begun to practise the other two Methods of gaining the Consent or Approbation of popular Assemblies, and that they have found them but too successful.

The more we find Eloquence decried by such Men, the more necessary it becomes for the Support of the Commonwealth, the more it ought to be studied and practised by all those that have a Regard for their Country.

As Eloquence applies itself to the Passions, as well as to the Understanding of Mankind, and as the best Way of moving any Passion in our Hearers, is to shew them that we are affected with it ourselves, therefore Eloquence must consist not only in Sentiment and Diction, but in giving a proper Emphasis to our Words, and accompanying them with such Actions or Gestures in the Body, as are suitable to the Passions we design to raise in our Hearers.

Si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi, is a Rule that holds good with regard to every other Passion as well as Sorrow, and as every Passion of the Mind has a proper Action or Gesture of the Body belonging to it, therefore a proper Action in speaking has always been thought necessary, tho' it be less practised in this Country than in any other. How we have come to neglect it so much, I do not know; but in this Country, not only Action in speaking, but even the laying a proper Emphasis upon our Words, or uttering them with any Sort of Emotion, seems to be banished from every Place but the Stage; and from

from thence, when a Gentleman speaks with a proper Emphasis, and shews by his Action that he himself is touch'd with what he says, his Manner of speaking is called Theatrical by those whose only Passion is Avarice; but let such Gentlemen say what they will, an Emphasis and Action in speaking, when it appears to be natural, and not what the *French* call *Ou|ee
| |*, will be admired and applauded by all Gentlemen of Knowledge and Taste, especially by those whose Love for their Country is paramount to their Love of Money.

Eloquence, therefore, can have no Enemies but the stupid and dull, or such as are Enemies to Virtue and Liberty; and for this Reason, I hope, my Countrymen will take Care not to allow themselves to be imposed on by those who are endeavouring to turn it into Ridicule. As the very Attempt is a Proof of there being amongst us a Party of Men who are Enemies to Liberty, I hope, no Gentleman, qualified for being a fine Speaker, will allow himself to be sneer'd out of the Use of a Talent, which he may turn very much to the Advantage of his Country. Solid and strong Reasoning, enforced by all the Arts of Eloquence, will have some Weight even in the most corrupt, the most dastardly Assemblies. If it does not prevail at one Time, it may at another; and if it is glorious, if it is our Duty, to give good Advice to our Country, especially when called on for that Purpose, surely it is equally glorious, it is equally our Duty, to endeavour to render that Advice effectual, by taking all proper Methods for persuading our Countrymen to follow it.

From hence it is evident, that whoever speaks in a publick Assembly, upon that Side, which he thinks right, is in Duty bound to make use of all the Eloquence he

is Master of. He may, he ought to apply to the Passions, as well as to the Understanding of his Hearers; and for this Purpose he ought, by his Manner of Speaking, to shew, that he is himself affected with what he says. It is a glorious Triumph to gain but one Man from the Side of Corruption. Tho' Knaves may blush, and, nevertheless, proceed in their Venality and corrupt Practices, yet to an honest Man it is some Satisfaction to make Knaves ashamed of what they are about.

Now to shew, that Gentlemen are in Duty bound to publish what they have said upon Affairs of very great Importance, as often as it can be done with any tolerable Exactness, I shall chuse for Example, the Debates in our two Houses of Parliament. As there are few Motions or Resolutions agreed to in either House of Parliament, but may be altered, amended, or repealed, and as few Motions or Resolutions are disagreed to, but what may be approved of, in a future Session, the Members concerned in the Debate, ought to publish what they said, because, if what was done was wrong, tho' their Speeches against it had not the desired Effect when spoken, yet by publishing them, they may, upon more mature Consideration, prevail with the ensuing Session to alter what has been done, or to agree to what was unsuccessfully proposed in the foregoing. Nay, when the Resolution happens to be of such a Nature as not to admit of any Alteration or Variation, yet if it be wrong, the publishing of what was said against it may be of great Service to the Publick, by preventing what was then done from being made a Precedent for doing the like in any future Session.

These Arguments hold good, with regard to the Speeches made in either House of Parliament, but with Regard to those made in the House

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of Commons, there is another Argument which ought to have great Weight. Our two Houses of Parliament are, by our Constitution, designed as a Check upon Ministers, and others concerned in the executive Part of our Government, and therefore great Care should be taken, that our Ministers should never have it in their Power to mislead or corrupt a Majority in either of these Assemblies. If the Members of the House of Commons were for Life, as the Members of the other House are, there would be Danger of the Minister's getting such a corrupt or undue Influence over them, as would of course prevent that Assembly's being any Check upon his Actions or Designs; and therefore, to prevent this Danger, the Members of that House are, by the Wisdom of our Constitution, to be chosen but for a short Term, which was formerly much shorter than it is now, and when that Term expires, the People are to come to a new Election. What then is the Duty of the People upon this Occasion? Are they not to judge of the Conduct of their former Members, and accordingly to refuse them, or to send others in their Stead? If the Electors in any County, City, or Borough, are of Opinion that their former Members were misled by the Minister, they ought to chuse others, who, they think, have more Sense: If they are of Opinion, their former Members were corrupted by the Minister, they ought to chuse others, who, they think, have more Honour. Therefore it is evident, that the Electors have a Right to be as fully informed as possible, not only of every Resolution, but of every important Debate in the House of Commons, because from thence only they can judge of the Conduct of their respective Members.

This, I say, the Electors have a

Right to, and as they may chuse new Members of very different Sentiments from the former, therefore, when any Member of the House of Commons is of Opinion, that the House has, through Mistake or otherwise, agreed to what was wrong, or disagreed to what was right, it is his Duty, as far as he can, to apprise the People of his Reasons for thinking so, by publishing what he said upon the Subject, that at the next Election, they may chuse such a new House of Commons as will rectify the Mistake of the former. A Gentleman of that House, who speaks against what he thinks wrong, or in Favour of what he thinks right, does well: In so far he does his Duty; but if he thinks, that what he said upon the Occasion, may contribute towards setting the People right in their next Choice of Representatives, he ought to publish it if he can; for by so doing, he testifies in a double Capacity his Zeal for his Country's Service.

Thus, I think, it is evident, that upon many Accounts a Gentleman may be obliged to publish what he says, when he speaks upon what he thinks the *right Side* of any important Question in a publick Assembly; and if it be his Duty to do so, how can it be imputed to his Vanity? But suppose his doing so, were the Effect of Vanity; it is a laudable Vanity. To be vain of serving our Country either by acting, speaking, or writing, is a Vanity that every Man ought to indulge, and every good Man will encourage. Vanity then only becomes ridiculous, when it is founded upon Trifles, or directed to ridiculous Objects. To be vain of a Pair of red-heel'd Shoes, a Ribban cross the Shoulder, or a mere empty Title, is ridiculous; but to be vain of serving Mankind, our Country, or our Friends, is highly commendable; therefore a Gentleman's publishing any Speech he

has made in a popular Assembly, when he thinks it may be of service to his Country, let that Publication proceed from what Motive it will, it must, and will be applauded by all those who are Friends to Virtue, Liberty, and publick Spirit.

Yet such is the Force of Custom and Fashion, that in this Country all Parties seem to join in ridiculing a Gentleman's publishing what he says in any popular Assembly, as if no Speech could be published, but such a one as has been thought of and prepared before-hand. Is not this a palpable Mistake? May not a Gentleman recollect a Speech he has made, tho' it was made without the least Premeditation? And tho' it cannot be put in the same very Words, the Thought and Argument may be as exactly pursued, as if it had been put in Writing before it was spoke. This therefore is nothing but a Pretence, and it is made use of as a Handle for turning into Ridicule, what Ministers and Court-Favourites must always be afraid of. A Minister may find Means to cajole or corrupt a House of Parliament, and to lead them into what may be of the most dangerous Consequence to the Liberties of the People, or the true Interest of the Nation; but it is not so easy to cajole or corrupt the Body of the People, when they are fully informed, and seriously consider the Consequences of Things; and as nothing is received so greedily, or read with so much Attention by the People, as the Speeches that are made in Parliament upon Subjects of great Importance, I am not at all surprized at finding, that Ministers and Court-Favourites use all their Art for turning into Ridicule what they have so much Reason to dread; but it is very surprizing, that the Friends of Liberty should join with them in

the Attempt, or allow themselves to be jeered out of a Custom which is so highly commendable in itself, and which might so greatly contribute towards rendering abortive every ministerial Design against the Liberties of the People.

From the *Roman History* it appears, that their greatest Generals, their Consuls and Dictators, were proud of publishing the Speeches they made upon important Occasions. *Cicero* may perhaps be accused of a little Vanity in this Respect; but can *Cato*, can *Julius Caesar* be accused of Vanity? Yet we still have several Speeches of both upon Record; and the latter has given us some of his at full Length, even in his own Commentaries. We cannot suppose, that all those Speeches were premeditated, and much less put in writing before they were spoke; nor can we suppose, that they are transmitted to us in the very Words they were uttered. The Speakers were certainly at the Pains to recollect and digest them afterwards, and this they did, because they were proud of doing what they thought might be of Service to their Country, and an Honour to themselves. Shall then a *British* Subject be ashamed of what a *Roman* General, Consul, or Dictator, was proud of doing? Or shall the impertinent Drollery of a few Court Parasites put a *true Briton* to the Blush, on Account of his being zealous in the Cause of his Country?

Let us but observe, and we shall find the same Arts made use of, and by the same Set of Men too, against Virtue and publick Spirit. O *Virtue!* O *my Country!* * is an Exclamation which they often repeat by Way of Sneer. They are daily endeavouring to turn Patriotism into Ridicule; and have made use of all their little Wit for rendering the

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* See Addison's *Cato*, Act 4, Scene 4.

Word Patriot a Term of Reproach. Patriot and Fool are with them synonymous Terms, and self Interest or sensual Pleasure the only Object of Wisdom. But if the People of this Kingdom consult their Reason, and do not allow themselves to be misled by Court Fashions and pernicious Customs, the Ridicule will in all such Cases be returned upon those that ridicule: Virtue, publick Spirit, and Patriotism will still be revered: Eloquence will be practised by those that are Masters of it, and admired by all; and no Man will be ashamed of speaking with Warmth in the Cause of his Country, or of publishing what he says, when he thinks it necessary for the Information of his Countrymen.

This, I hope, will be sufficient for preventing the Effect of any fashionable Court-Sneers, against what I have shewn to be so necessary for the Support of Liberty; but I cannot conclude this Letter without taking Notice of another Prejudice of Education, which is right in itself when kept within its proper Bounds, but may otherwise do great Mischief, and may at present be of dangerous Consequence in this County in particular. I mean a Partiality in Favour of the County or Place of our Nativity, and consequently, of those that are Natives of the same Place or County.

As we have at present a Competition between two Gentlemen for representing this County in Parliament, the Question amongst us is, To which of these two an honest *Yorkshire* Freeholder ought to give his Vote. One is a Native of the County, the other has lately by Marriage come into it; for as to the latter's being born in *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, I think it is quite out of the Question, because in both Cases he is my Fellow-Countryman, and the only Question is,

Whether I shall give my Vote to my Fellow-Countryman as well as Countryman, or to one who is my Fellow-Countryman, but not my Fellow-Countryman by Birth. I must confess, if the Characters of the two Gentlemen were perfectly equal, I should chuse to give my Vote to my Fellow-Countryman by Birth, because I am obliged to prefer an old Neighbour to a Stranger, when I can do so, without doing Injustice to the Stranger, or committing a Breach of any superior Duty in Life.

But to explain our Duty in such Cases more fully, I must observe, that the several Duties of Mankind in this Life stand in a regular Subordination as follows: 1st, Our Duty to God; 2^{dly}, Our Duty to Mankind; 3^{dly}, Our Duty to our Country; 4^{thly}, Our Duty to our Family, Friends and Neighbours; and 5^{thly}, Our Duty to ourselves: Consequently, we can owe no Duty in any of these Cases, when that which would otherwise be our Duty, becomes inconsistent with any of those Duties to which it is subordinate. These Distinctions ought therefore to be carefully considered, and their several Subordinations religiously observed; otherwise, by doing what we think our Duty in an inferior Degree, we may commit a Breach of our Duty in the next superior Degree, which will of course be a Breach of our Duty in every superior Degree. For Example: If I should pursue my own Interest or Pleasure at the Expence of my Neighbour or Family, I commit a Breach of my Duty, not only in the next superior, *viz.* the fourth Degree, but likewise in the third, second, and first. This is a most certain Rule in Religion, Virtue, and Morality; and I wish the Luxurious, as well as the Avaricious, would attend to it more than they seem to do.

Now, with regard to the Choice of

of Members of Parliament, it is certain, that my Duty to my Country, and consequently to Mankind, and to God Almighty, requireth, that I should give my Vote for him, whom I think most capable and most likely to serve his Country in Parliament; and therefore, in a Competition, I am obliged to inquire into the personal Character and past Behaviour of the two Candidates, which I ought to do without the least Partiality towards my Countrymen or old Neighbours, because the Duty I owe to my Country is superior to the Duty I owe to my Neighbours. If upon this impartial Inquiry, I find the two Candidates exactly equal, as to Character and Behaviour, I may then allow my Partiality towards my Countrymen and old Neighbours to take Place, by preferring him, who is my Countryman by Birth, as well as my Countryman, to him who is my Countryman, but not my Countryman by Birth. But if upon such Inquiry, I should find Reason to conclude, that he who is become my Countryman by Marriage or Purchase, is more capable or more likely to serve his Country in Parliament, than he who is my Countryman by Birth, in Duty to my Country, in Duty to Mankind, in Duty to my God, I am bound to give my Vote to the former: I betray my Country, I injure Mankind by my Example, I commit a most grievous Offence against God himself, if I give my Vote to the latter.

Which of our two Candidates ought to be preferred, I shall not determine, my Design being only, to prevent my Countrymen from being led by a Partiality towards their Countryman by Birth, to commit a Breach of the Duty they owe to their Country, to Mankind, and to God Almighty; for in all such Cases, when the Candidates are not perfectly equal, as to Character and

Behaviour, this Partiality ought to be intirely laid aside, and that Candidate chosen, who, from his personal Character or past Behaviour, appears most capable and most likely to serve his Country in Parliament, even tho' he were by Birth a Foreigner, as well as a Stranger in the County. A Native *Englishman* may from his former Conduct appear to be such a one as cannot, and a Foreigner by Birth may from his former Conduct appear to be such a one as may be safely trusted with the Liberties of *Great Britain* in Parliament; and when this is the Case, the latter, upon a Competition, ought to be, and will be preferred by every Man, who has a true Regard to the Liberties of his Country.

Let us remember, that the chief Restorer of the Liberties of *England* after the Conquest, was not only a Foreigner, but a *Frenchman* by Birth. I mean the great Earl of *Leicester*: Tho' he was not only a *Frenchman* by Birth, but a Gentleman that had been brought up at the Court of *France*, yet his Behaviour in this Country was such, that the Barons chose him, not only as their Confederate, but as their Leader in the War they undertook against *Henry III.* for recovering the Liberties of their Country: And his future Behaviour shewed, they were not mistaken in the Opinion they had of his Honour and Conduct. It was he that restored to the Commons of *England* their Right of being present, by themselves or Representatives, in the supreme Councils of the Nation; and to him, what we now call the House of Commons, may justly be said to owe its original Institution; for tho' our great *Edward I.* whilst he was Prince of *Wales*, got the better of the Author, he could not get the better of the Institution, but was obliged to follow the Precedent first introduced by his Enemy,

Enemy, and to call the Representatives of the Commons to several of the Parliaments held in his Reign.

I would not from this Example argue, that we ought to be ready or fond to trust naturalized Foreigners: I know, that in all Countries they are generally professed Enemies, or but cool Friends, to the Liberties of the People; which may, perhaps, be owing to this very Partiality in Favour of our own Countrymen, because in popular Governments this Partiality renders it very difficult for Foreigners to get into Power; whereas, in absolute Monarchies they have at least an equal Chance with natural born Subjects: I from thence only argue, that even a Foreigner may sometimes by his Behaviour shew, that he is more fit to be trusted, than a natural born Subject who then happens to be his Rival. But this, as I have said, has nothing to do in our present Question. We may as justly object against a *Lincolnshire* or *Staffordshire* Gentleman's setting up for Representative of this County, as against an *Irish*, *Welsh*, or *Scottish* Gentleman, who has got an Estate, and has resided for some Time in the County. The ancient Distinctions of *English*, *Irish*, *Welsh*, and *Scottish* are now no more: We are all now Subjects of the same Sovereign, and united in the same Interest; and therefore we may be assured, that they who endeavour to revive these obsolete Distinctions, are secretly resolved to set us by the Ears together, that they may from thence get an Opportunity for triumphing over the Liberties of the Whole.

There is another obsolete Distinction, which some amongst us are daily, with the same View, endeavouring to revive; and therefore I must warn my Countrymen against it: It is the Distinction between Tory and Whig. There are now no Passive-Obedience Men amongst

us, which was what the Whigs of old called Tory; and, I hope, there are as few Republicans, which was what the Tories of old meant by Whig; therefore, there is now no such Distinction amongst us, as what was formerly meant by Tory and Whig. But there is now a most dangerous and a most abandoned Set of Men sprung up, who call themselves Whigs, and yet are certainly a Sort of Tories, because they pursue, by different, but worse Means, the same End with the ancient Tories. The ancient Tories were for establishing an arbitrary Power in the Crown by Prerogative and religious Principle; but this new Sort of Tories are for establishing an arbitrary Power in the Crown, not by Prerogative and Principle, but by Bribery and Corruption. As these Men impudently, and with great Assurance, assume the Name of Whigs, because some amongst them were educated, and acted as Whigs, when there was such a Distinction as Whig and Tory in the Nation, they are extremely dangerous; and therefore I shall conclude with giving a Caution to my Countrymen, especially those who are sincerely what is properly called Whig, by which I mean those, who are for supporting the Prerogatives of the Crown, no farther than they are consistent with the Liberties of the People: Such Men, I say, I must particularly caution to beware, lest they should be induced, under a Notion of supporting what they think the Whig Interest, to contribute towards the Establishment of this modern Sort of Toryism.

Thus, Sir, I have warned my Countrymen against several Errors and Mistakes they may be led into by Custom, Education, and the Company they converse with; and as what I have said may, upon the present Occasion, be of some Service to the Nation in general, and

to this County in particular, I hope you will give it a Place in your next Magazine.
I am, &c.

The following Paper containing something curious upon *Originals in Writing*, we have thought proper to insert it here, tho' a little out of Time.

Daily Gazetteer, Sept. 25.

To RALPH FREEMAN, Esq;

S I R,

THE great Judges in Painting tell us, that a free and bold Pencil hath twenty Admirers, for one that is pleased with a regular and highly finish'd Piece. It is the same Thing in Conversation; the Man of Pleasantry is more generally esteem'd than the Man of Judgment. The Reason of this may, I think, be easily assign'd. Whatever is brisk and sprightly, strikes the Imagination: Whereas whatever is exact, accurate or solid, requires Attention and Reflexion to make its true Merit known. Now amongst Mankind in general, there are ninety-nine in the Hundred govern'd by their Imagination; and of the Few who call in their Reason to their Assistance, the greater Part chuse their Companions after the Mode of the World; that is, they think it enough if they meditate alone, and seek nothing so much as to be diverted by Conversation.

One may carry this Observation into the World of Letters, and by its Light discover a World of Truths which would otherwise have escaped our Knowledge. For if we examine Things closely, we shall find, that the Works of the Learned, like the Pictures of great Masters, have owed the greatest Part of their Admirers rather to their exterior than interior Beauties; and this is

the true Reason why in both, a new and vast Genius hath been generally prefer'd to a Genius delicate and just.

When we consider the Reputation of Homer, we cannot but be astonished to see it wear so well, and that instead of being injured by Time, it appears even at this Distance stronger, clearer, and brighter than ever. The Works of Homer are an Instance of the Truth of what I say, in one Sense; tho' they are an Exception to the Rule I lay down, in another. The Crowd of Homer's Admirers, in all Ages, hath been made up of such as were amazed and delighted with the Fire and Force of that admirable Poet; by that Activity of Genius peculiar to this great Man, and which so strongly animates his Poems, that the dullest Translators have not been able to spoil them. We are told, that a great Poet of our own could not read the *Iliad*, english'd by Chapman, without Tears: And, indeed, Homer degraded even to Prose hath in it something so lively and piercing, that it operates on every Imagination, and fixes the Attention even of the most indolent Reader. Hence, I say, come the Crowd of Homer's Admirers; for I pretend not to deny that he is admired by the Few as well as by the Many; but then, I say, their Admiration springs from a different Cause. These interior and solid Beauties are to be found in Virgil, and even in some other Greek Poets besides Homer; which, however, have had but few Votaries in respect to him. We may say the same Thing in regard to Horace. He is more an Original than any of the Latin Poets, tho' he had the Greeks continually in his View; and on this Account he charms all Sorts of Readers. Those who are struck with well-turn'd Panegyrick, are surpriz'd with the Elegance of his Compliments, which are

are always suited to the Person to whom they are offered, and to him from whom they come; the Man of Gallantry is smitten with his amorous Odes; and the Enthusiast is delighted with those bold and rapturous Pieces, which have all the Fire of *Pindar* without its Smoke.

Among the *Italians*, we find a Multitude of Instances, more apposite to my Purpose than those already cited. *Boccalini* is truly an Original; and tho' it may be alledg'd, that there is some Affinity between his Writings and those of *Lucian*, yet I think they cannot, with any Propriety, be called Imitations. Every Body knows with what Avidity his Writings were read when they were first published, and how much they are still esteem'd; tho' Time has render'd the finest Strokes in them unintelligible without a Comment. *Montaigne* is another original Writer, who thunder-struck his Contemporaries with the Discoveries he made in human Nature. His *Essays* are inimitable, as they are without a Pattern; for *Montaigne's* Essays are but Transcripts from his Mind, which please in Right of their Singularity, and which imply that Copies can have no Merit. *Cervantes* was an Original too, and so was *Rabelais*; but they seem to be perfect Opposites, notwithstanding that both excell'd in Raillery. The *Spaniard*, however, has infinitely more Merit than the *Frenchman*, in Point both of Manner and Matter; and yet *Rabelais* hath had far more Commentators than he, because his Humour is bolder and more extravagant. *Cervantes* will never fail to make a Man of Sense smile; whereas the Stories of *Rabelais* will make *Coxcombs* as well as *Criticks* laugh. A Man must enter into the Spirit of *Don Quixot* before he is pleased with him; but for the Adventures of *Garagantica* and *Panta-*

gruel, he who understands them not, feels as much Pleasure as he who has studied them, and perhaps with more Reason. In a Word, *Cervantes* is the Hero of all who have a Taste for *Ridicule*, and *Rabelais* the Darling of such as love to see Things made ridiculous.

We have had in our own Country at least as many original Writers as our Neighbours, neither have they fallen short of them in Esteem. *Hudibras* may be called the Manna of Wit, which is alike agreeable to all Tastes. A great *French* Critick, not over lavish of his Praises, frankly confesses, that he never met with any Book written with equal Spirit. To speak sincerely, we never had so unrival'd a Genius as that of Mr. *Butler*: Those who complain of his Obscurity, do not so properly complain of him, as of themselves, for they ought to be well acquainted with the History of their own Country, especially of the Age immediately preceding their own; and a tolerable Acquaintance therewith enables a Man to read, with equal Pleasure and Satisfaction, this poetical Picture of Men, as much Originals in their Way, as their Poet is in his. The *Tale of a Tub* is a Sort of *Hudibras* in Prose, but quite an Original, and, as *Voltaire* rightly observes, its Author (whoever he be) hath all the Merit of *Rabelais*, without any of his Weaknesses: There is throughout the Whole a mighty Fund of good Sense, a strong Flow of true Wit and masculine Satire, accompany'd with a Kind of Humour so singularly pleasant, that no *Cynick* can avoid smiling, who reads it. I will add to these an Original of an opposite Kind, *The Pilgrim's Progress* of honest *John Bunyan*, a Man, who, if he wanted Learning, wanted likewise any Sort of Art or Fraud, and whose Expression, if it be homely, is at the same Time so just and natural, and so exactly

exactly of a Piece with the Structure of his Tale, that take it all together, there never was an Allegory better design'd, or better supported. The Wits may perhaps take Offence at the Respect I pay to this religious Romance; but if we consider the universal good Reception it hath met with at home and abroad, we must either allow that it has Merit, or that ourselves and our Neighbours are void of Penetration and true Judgment. Besides, this is not the only Book of its Kind, there have been many others publish'd with the same View, tho' not in the same Manner, which, tho' written by learned and judicious Men, have yet met with an indifferent Reception, compared with that afforded to the *Pilgrim's Progress* of Bunyan. He hath therefore, according to the Rules, a Right to Fame, which should never be deny'd him; and I have the rather commended him on this Occasion, because I should think his Example might incline Men unacquainted with any but their Mother Tongue to undertake somewhat therein, which might give them as just a Title to Reputation. *Sense is Sense in all Languages*, and let a Man know ever so much Latin and Greek, he thinks in the Tongue of his People, let it be what it will; so that in Point of *Invention*, all Men are on a Par.

The Use I would make of all these Observations and Instances is this; I would be content to inculcate a Desire of excelling, rather by striking out new Paths, than by treading very circumspectly in the old ones. I have shewn, that it is natural for our Contemporaries to be pleas'd with any Thing that is tolerable if it be new, rather than a better Thing if it be evidently an Imitation. I have endeavour'd to point out the Reason of this, and to support my own Conjectures by several Examples. Perhaps I might have succeeded as well if I had taken a contrary Method, that is, if I had considered the Fate of Imitations, their gradual Declension, or the true Source of that Reputation which some of them are in. For Example, if I had compar'd *Virgil* with *Homer*, *Lucan* with *Virgil*, *Statius* with *Lucan*. Or if I had suggested, that tho' as to their Matter the *Fairy Queen* and *Paradise lost* are in a great Measure copied from the Ancients, yet in their Manner they are perfectly *Originals*. But tho' Truth may be illustrated by various Methods of arguing, yet as one serves as well as another, I shall rely upon the Reasons I urg'd at first, and from them conclude, that if the Moderns would exercise their *Invention* more, and their *Diligence* in imitating less, they would succeed better than they do. I would not be understood by this Manner of Speaking to lessen the *Ancients* in any Degree, I have myself all the Veneration for them that a Man can have for other Men, and I should have a very mean Opinion of any Au-

thor who should pretend to censure them; But after all, the esteeming great Men does not include any Desire of aping them, nor do I think, that affecting a Man's Manner of Speaking or Writing does so much Honour to him, as it does Discredit to ourselves. On the Whole, we may use the Ancients without transcribing them, and keep them in View without treading on their Heels. By such a Method, a Writer may attain a just and proper Portion of Fame, which in the servile Track of Imitation he never can.

I am, Sir, &c.

Sept. 4, 1741.

M. B.

Craftsman, Sept. 26. N^o 795.

HAVING mentioned some little Arts and Absurdities of the ministerial Advocates, this Writer proceeds thus:

I ask Pardon for having dwelt so long upon these contemptible Miscreants; for 'tis of very little Consequence to the Publick, whether the ministerial Advocates and Scribblers are Fools or not from their Productions, in which they are only exercising their little, idle Imaginations, upon Affairs relating to themselves. But to expose their Nonsense and Wickedness in Discourses upon Subjects, for which we may suppose they have received immediate Instructions from their Superiors, will be more or less of Service to every honest Man in England; some few Instances of which I shall produce, and endeavour to set forth in proper Colours.

The present Situation of Affairs in Europe is allow'd, even by the ministerial Tribe themselves, to afford a very gloomy Prospect. But, say they, if it was not for the Opposition, Things would have been much better; for our Neighbours, seeing us so much divided at home, are unwilling to join with us, not having any Dependence upon the precarious Friendship of so disunited a People.

This, I think, is call'd begging the Question; which, for Variety's Sake, I'll put into another Form.

The present Situation of Affairs in Europe affords us a gloomy Prospect; but there never was a Time, when the Powers of Europe were better inclined to assert their Liberty, under the British Auspices, if the Administration, or the Minister of Great Britain, (call them or him what you will) was changed; for within these 21 Years, such contradictory and repugnant Treaties have been engaged in by that Person, and so opposite to the Interest of our best and most natural Allies, that no Dependence could be placed upon him, when the Counsels of such a Person have the premier Influence.

I affirm nothing. I only submit to the judicious Part of Mankind, which is the most natural Reading.

The gloomy Prospect of Affairs in Europe may

Y Y Y

may be resolved into this single Point; that the House of *Austria* is not strong enough to support itself against the Force and Intrigues of the House of *Bourbon*. We may therefore conclude, that the ministerial Advocates would, if they were able, shew what Steps their Patron hath taken, from Time to Time, to advance the *Austrian* Power, and reduce the *Bourbon* Power. But the Truth is so contrary to this, that the great Crime imputed to that honourable Person is for having engaged in Measures opposite to the *Austrian* Interest, and not sufficiently adhering to those made in Favour of that illustrious Family.

If we had declared with Vigour for the Support of the late Emperor, in the last War, whose Dominions we had guarantied, we might have probably put an early Stop to that War, or, what might have been better, have carried it on with Success; and *France*, instead of gaining *Lorain*, might have been beat from the Banks of the *Rhine*.

I shall conclude with this short Observation:—That if any Power declines to engage in an Alliance with us, till the ensuing Parliament gives us a Specimen of its Proceedings, it may possibly be in Expectation, that a certain Motion may have better Success in the next Parliament, than it had in the last, as such Success may put Alliances upon a more stable, uniform, and equitable Basis, than it ever was either in the Capacity or Integrity of a certain honourable Person and the grand Negotiator to do; and likewise to see the Complexion of the Parliament, with regard to Taxes, and whether it will be more engaged in paying off Civil List Debts, or reducing the superfluous Salaries of the *Sine-Cure* Places, since nothing can give a Country greater Credit, than to have the Character of good Economy.

Universal Spectator, Oct. 3. N^o 678.

The FOLLY of affecting an Acquaintance with the GREAT.

*Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici,
Expertus metuit.* Hon.

FROM a ridiculous Pride of seeming to be of some Consequence, or to have great Interest, and great Merit, there are People who think it a mighty Happiness, that they can be seen in Company with those of a superior Rank in Life: To say in a publick Place, *I din'd Yesterday with his Grace of *****; To-morrow I am engag'd to my Lord ******, gives an Air of Importance to a Creature, who fixes his whole Merit in having eat and drank at a Table with Men, who were only distinguished from others by their Title and Equipage. For a Merchant's Wife, or a Gentlewoman just come out of the Country, to have continual Engagements

at the Court End of the Town, or to be one in a Party of Pleasure with some Ladies of Quality, conveys to them a peculiar Satisfaction, as they have an Opportunity to let their own Acquaintance know, that they keep the best Company in England.

Of the first of these Characters was *Will Lovetite*, who, with a handsome Fortune of 800 l. a Year, would keep Company with Persons of Quality of 12 or 16,000. *Will* was always complaisantly received; because, let whatever expensive Proposal be made, he readily came into it, and spent equal to any body, to intitle himself to their Company. This Humour introduced him to the Intimacy of the first Personages of the Kingdom, who, tho' they knew he was running out his Fortune with them, had no more Regard for him, than thinking him a foolish Fellow, and letting him go on in his own Way. In a few Years his *Oaks* were first fallen, then his Estate mortgaged, and at last sold. *Will*, with the Residue of his Money arising from the Sale, still kept the same Company, as if his Estate was clear; when this became very low, and he had but a small Stock at his Banker's to draw for, he opened the State of his Affairs to his noble and intimate Friends, hoping, by their Interest, to get some genteel Place for Life. On Application he met with the same Reception from them all: They were all sorry for his Misfortune, but it was out of their Power to help him; and wonder'd he could have possibly been so imprudent in his Conduct, when he was the best Judge of his own Affairs. In short, all he could obtain from his powerful Friends was, that one of them, for 100 Guineas, which was to be a Present to somebody, got him a Lieutenant's Commission in a new-raisd Regiment, order'd to the *West-Indies*; where he went almost with a Hope to be knock'd on the Head for his past Folly.

Madam Transfer has the same Infatuation to Ladies of Quality, as poor *Lovetite* had to the Men: Her Husband deals for more Thousands a Year than most Noblemen have as an Income; for this Reason, she thinks she may spend in Proportion to her Husband's Returns, instead of his Profit; she is at present very intimate with *Lady Spadille*, *Lady Bubble*, the Hon. Mrs. *Cheatwood*, and the gay Lady *Fanny Schemer*, who have not only taught her the highest *Gout* for Extravagance of every Kind, but have already got 2000 l. of her, which she has rais'd on her Jewels and Furniture, unknown to her Husband.—I would advise her to make a timely Retreat, lest she add to the Number of polite City Ladies, who have ruin'd themselves and Families, from a ridiculous Ambition to talk of, and be seen among Persons of Quality.

When People of independent, handsome Fortunes run into this Folly, they also have their

their Inferiors, who as idly court and imitate them: Hence Extravagance, Love of Gaieties, the Taste for modish Pleasures, are, in a Chain of Imitation, carry'd down to the lowest People, who would seem to have a Notion of what *bigb Life* is, by spending more than they can afford with those they call their Betters.

After all, I would not be understood that the respective Conditions of Mankind are to be restrain'd to their separate Estates, and have no Intercourse: The *Mechanick* may keep Company with the *Tradesman*, the *Tradesman* with the *Merchant* and *Gentleman*, they with the *Peer*; but then it must be in a Manner proper to their distinct Characters, without entering into a *servile Dependancy*, or vain Extravagance. When *Freedom*, good *Sense*, and good *Manners*, are the Rules on which they act, Persons often find great Advantages from their Acquaintance with Persons in a superior Station of Life: But when such Acquaintance is merely a *slavish Attendance*, or *Leagues of Vice and Folly*, instead of Generosity and Friendship, it then falls under the Censure which the Poet, who furnish'd me with my Theme, has given of it.

I cannot persuade myself to leave this Subject without an Observation of another Nature.—I have often wonder'd the Acquaintance of a *Court Potentate* should be accounted so very great an Honour to some Gentlemen who have great *Estates* and great *Titles*; yet such there are, who, with the utmost Affiduity, cultivate his Favour as much as if they were solely dependant on it, and are at considerable Labour and Expence, from an hereditary State of Independancy, to become *Slaves*.

I could here add the miserable State of all *Levy-Hunters* in general: However gay they appear, their *Hopes*, *Fears*, *Doubts*, *Expectations* from *Promises* receiv'd, and *Disappointments* from having them broke, carry with them such a fatal Curse, that, with *Cowley*, in the following fine Reflexion, no one could wish it to befall the Man, but whom one thoroughly hated.

Would I curse the man I hate,
Attendance and dependance be his fate.

I shall conclude with the following Lines, which I leave my Readers to apply:

Man only from himself can suffer wrong;
His reason fails, as his desires grow strong:
Hence wanting ballast, and too full of sail,
He lies expos'd to every rising gale.
From youth to age, for *happinefs* he's bound;
He splits on rocks, and runs his bark a-ground;
Or wide of land, a desert ocean views,
And to the last the flying port pursues;
Yet to the last the port he does not gain,
And dying finds, too late, he liv'd in vain.

Craftsman, Oct. 10. N^o 797.

Whether the BRITISH Government inclines more to ABSOLUTE MONARCHY, or to a REPUBLICK.

Mr. D'Anvers.

A IT affords a violent Prejudice against almost every Art and Science, that no prudent Man, however sure of his Principles, dares prophesy concerning any Event, or foretel the remote Consequences of Things. No *Physician* will venture to pronounce about the Condition of his *Patient* a Fortnight or a Month after; and still less dares a *Politician* foretel the Situation of *publick Affairs* a few Years hence. *Harrington* thought himself so sure of his general Principle, *That the Balance of Power depends on that of Property*, that he ventured to pronounce it impossible ever to re-establish *Monarchy* in *England*; but his Book was scarce publish'd when the *King* was restored; and we see that *Monarchy* has ever since subsisted upon the same Footing as before. Notwithstanding this unlucky Example, I will venture to examine a very important Question, *viz. Whether the British Government inclines more to absolute Monarchy, or to a Republick, and in which of these two Species of Government it will most probably terminate?* Those, who assert that the Balance of our Government inclines towards *absolute Monarchy*, may support their Opinion by the following Reasons.—That *Property* has a great Influence on *Power* cannot be deny'd; yet the general Maxim, *that the Balance of the one depends upon the Balance of the other*, must be received with several Limitations. 'Tis evident, that much less *Property* in a single Hand, will be able to counterbalance a greater *Property* in several Hands; not only because it is difficult to make many Persons combine in the same Views and Measures, but also because *Property* when united, causes much greater Dependence, than the same *Property* when dispersed. An hundred Persons of 1000 *l.* a Year a-piece can consume all their Income, and nobody shall ever be the better for them, except their *Servants* and *Tradesmen*, who justly regard their Profits as the Product of their Labours. But a Man possess'd of 100,000 *l.* a Year, if he has either any Generosity or any Cunning, may create a great Dependence by Obligations, and still a greater by Expectations. Hence we find that in all *free Governments* any Subject, exorbitantly rich, has always created Jealousy, even tho' his Riches bore no Manner of Proportion to the Riches of the State. *Craffus's* Fortune, if I remember well, amounted only to 3000 *Talents* a Year, (about 400,000 *l. Sterl.*) and yet we find, that tho' his Genius was nothing extraordinary, he was able, by Means of his

Riches alone, to counterbalance, during his Life-time, the Power of *Cæsar*, who afterwards became Master of the World. The Wealth of the *Medicis* made them Masters of *Florence*, tho' it is probable, it was very inconsiderable, compared to the united Property of that opulent Republick.

These Considerations are apt to make one entertain a very magnificent Idea of the *British* Spirit and Love of *Liberty*; since we could maintain our free Government, during so many Centuries, against our *Sovereigns*, who, besides the Power, Dignity and Majesty of the *Crown*, have always been possess'd of much more Property, than any Subject has ever enjoy'd in any *Commonwealth*. But it may be said, that this Spirit, however great, will never be able to support itself against that immense Property, which is now lodged in the *King*, and is still increasing. Upon a moderate Computation, there are near three Millions at the Disposal of the *Crown*. The *Civil List* amounts to near a Million. The Collection of all *Taxes* to another Million; and the Employments in the *Army* and *Navy*, with the *Ecclesiastical Preferments*, above a Third. A monstrous Sum! and what may be fairly computed to be more than a thirtieth Part of the whole Income and Labour of the *Kingdom*. When we add to this immense Property, the increasing *Luxury* of the Nation, our Proneness to *Corruption*, together with the great Power and Prerogative of the *Crown*, and the Command of such numerous military *Forces*, it is greatly to be fear'd, that without extraordinary Efforts, we shall not be able to support our free Government much longer under all these Disadvantages.

On the other hand, those who maintain, that the Bias of the *British Government* leans towards a Republick, may support their Opinion by very specious Arguments. It may be said, that tho' this immense Property in the *Crown* be join'd to the Dignity of the first *Magistrate*, and to many other legal Powers and Prerogatives, which should naturally give it a greater Influence; yet it really becomes less dangerous to *Liberty* on that Account. Were *Britain* a Republick, and were any private Man possess'd of a Revenue, a third, or even a tenth Part so large as that of the *Crown*, he would very justly excite Jealousy; because he would infallibly have great Authority in the Government; and such an irregular Authority, not avow'd by the *Laws*, is always more dangerous than a much greater Authority, which is derived from them. A Man possess'd of usurp'd Authority can set no Bounds to his Pretensions: His Partizans have Liberty to hope for every Thing in his Favour; his Enemies provoke his Ambition, with his Fears, by the Violence of their Opposition; and the Government being thrown into a Ferment, every corrupted Humour of

the State naturally gathers to him. On the contrary, a legal Authority, tho' very great, has always some Bounds, which terminate both the Hopes and Pretensions of the Persons possess'd of it. The *Laws* must have provided a Remedy against its Excesses; such an eminent *Magistrate* has much to fear, and little to hope from his Usurpations; and as his legal Authority is quietly submitted to, he has little Temptation and little Opportunity of extending it farther. Besides, it happens, with regard to ambitious Aims and Projects, what may be observed with regard to Sects of *Philosophy* and *Religion*. A new Sect excites such a Ferment, and is both opposed and defended with such Vehemence, that it spreads always faster, and multiplies its Partizans with greater Rapidity, than any old establish'd Opinion, recommended by the Sanction of the *Laws* and of Antiquity. Such is the Nature of Novelty, that where any Thing pleases, it becomes doubly agreeable, if new; but, if it displeases, it is doubly displeasing on that Account; and in most Cases the Violence of Enemies is favourable to ambitious Projects, as well as the Zeal of Partizans.

It may farther be said, that tho' Men be very much govern'd by Interest, yet even Interest itself is merely govern'd by Opinion. Now there has been a very sudden, and a very sensible Change in the Opinions of Men, within these last 50 Years, by the Progress of *Learning* and *Liberty*. Most People, in this Island, have divested themselves of all superstitious Reverence to Names and Authority. The mere Name of *King* commands little Respect, and to talk of him as God's Vicegerent upon Earth, or to give him any of these magnificent Titles, which formerly dazzled Mankind, would but excite Laughter. Tho' the *Crown*, by means of its large Revenues, may maintain its Authority in Times of Tranquillity, upon private Interest and Influence; yet, as the least Shock or Convulsion must break all those Interests to Pieces, the kingly Power being no longer supported by the settled Opinions and Principles of Men, may be in Danger of a Dissolution. Had Men been in the same Disposition at the Revolution, as they are at present, *Monarchy* would have run a great Risk of being intirely lost in this Island.

Durst I venture to give my own Opinion, amidst these opposite Arguments, I would assert, that unless there happen some extraordinary Convulsion, the Power of the *Crown*, by means of its large Revenue, is rather upon the Increase; tho' at the same Time I own, that its Progress seems to me very slow, and almost insensible. The Tide has run long, and with some Rapidity, to the Side of the popular Government, and is just beginning to turn towards *Monarchy*. 'Tis well known, that every Government must come to a Period, and that Death is unavoidable to the

political as well as the natural Body. But as one Kind of Death may be preferable to another, it may be inquired, whether it be more desirable for the *British* Government to terminate in a popular Government, or in absolute Monarchy? Here I would declare frankly, that tho' Liberty be infinitely preferable to Slavery, in almost every Case, yet I would rather wish to see an absolute Monarch than a Republick, in this Island. For, let us consider what Kind of a Republick we have Reason to expect: The Question is not concerning any fine imaginary Republick, which a Man may form a Plan of in his Closet. There is no Doubt, but a popular Government may be imagined more perfect than absolute Monarchy, or even than our present Constitution: But what Reason have we to expect, that any such Government will be ever establish'd in Britain, upon the Dissolution of our Monarchy? If any single Person acquires Power enough to take our Constitution to Pieces, and set up a new one, he is really an absolute Monarch, and we have had already an Instance of this Kind, sufficient to convince us, that such a Person will never resign his Power, or establish any free Government: Matters, therefore, must be trusted to their natural Progress and Operation, and the House of Commons, according to its present Constitution, in such a popular Government. The Inconveniencies, attending such a Situation of Affairs, present themselves by Thousands. If the House of Commons, in such a Case, ever dissolves itself, we may look for a Civil War every Election; if it continues itself, we shall suffer all the Tyranny of a Faction, sub-divided into new Factions; and as such a violent Government cannot last, we shall at length, after infinite Convulsions, find Repose in absolute Monarchy, which it would have been happier for us to have establish'd peaceably from the Beginning. Absolute Monarchy is, therefore, the easiest Death, the true Eutanasia of the British Constitution.

Thus have we Reason to be more jealous of Monarchy, because the Danger is most imminent from that Quarter: We have also Reason to be jealous of popular Government, because that Danger is more terrible. This may teach us a Lesson of Moderation in all our political Controversies.

P. T.

Universal Spectator, Oct. 10. N^o 679.

The joys of wedlock with the woes you mix;
Tis best repenting in a coach and six.

GARTH.

Mr. Stonecastle,

I AM an old Man, and cannot help retaining, however unfashionable it may be in this Age, a very great Regard for the Vir-

tues of our Ancestors; and am not ashamed to think, that however wise the present Generation are, in their own Eyes, yet we stand in great Need of Amendment; and in Pursuance of such Thoughts, am greatly concerned to see the little Regard that is had to the moral State of Matrimony, which is owing more to the Faults of Parents than Children.

We have been so long polishing ourselves from the ancient British Roughness, that we seem to think Virtue is no more than Fancy, and Honour and Religion no more than well-made Masks to hide conceal'd Villany; and, in Consequence of this, look upon one another as Knaves and Rogues.

Sure, if this were not the Case, we should not so often see Wealth the only Thing regarded by Parents, who think that now-a-days, they provide sufficiently for their Children, if, as the Phrase is, they marry them well, that is, to a Man of Wealth.

Anciently these, Mr. Stonecastle, were the Requisites thought necessary to make a happy Marriage, Family, Reputation, Character and good Behaviour; but now, in this most refined Age, the Wealthy must not be suspected capable of wanting all or either of these, once so thought necessary Virtues, or at least of having an Occasion for them in the State we are discoursing of.

The Young of both Sexes are bred to so much Gaiety, by their equally wise and gay Parents, that none but a Clown dares pretend to enquire after the Virtues and Prudence of his intended Spouse, who has enough of both, if she brings him a large Fortune; tho' Miss knows no more of her Duty the Day she leaves the Boarding-School, than she did the Day she went into it; and if young Master has but an Estate, Miss cannot fail of being happy, so long as he is an agreeable pretty Fellow, and can distinguish himself by his Politeness, either at a Ball or a Quadrille Table; for none but a Pedant and a self-conceited Fellow can be supposed to imagine he can ever become serviceable either to his King or Country.

We may boast of our ancient Honour and Glory, and of our superior Happiness by our excellent Constitution; but if our Youth are brought up to a Disregard of themselves and one another, there will be too soon an End of all true Happiness in Old England.

If, contrary to the ancient wise Provision of a certain Republick of Greece, our Youth are taught to forget they have any Concern in the Commonwealth, and are bred up in a total Disregard to it, we cannot help having a most dismal Prospect of the Want of all moral Virtues in the next Generation.

So long as present Riches are preferred to real Virtue and Honour, and Men find the only Way to be considerable is to be rich, (no Matter how their Wealth is acquir'd) so long the

the People will continue to grow more and more corrupt, till the Measure of their Iniquity is full.

PHILO-SPEC.

Notwithstanding the just Complaint of my Correspondent, which is of the same Nature as several others I have receiv'd from *Damons*, *Strepsons*, *Philanders*, &c. &c. it is beyond my Power to procure them Redress: Love alone is not thought a sufficient Qualification to entitle a young Fellow to become the Husband of a pretty Woman; nor is it any Wonder if the fair Sex are tempted by a glittering Bait: I could wish it otherwise, but I assure all my neglected Swains, the Foible is inherent to the Sex from the Creation: To shew it is not modern, I shall tell them an old Story of a *Lady* and an *Apple*.—It is not that of *Eve*, but of a fair Maid, nam'd *Atalanta*.

Atalanta, who was thought to exceed every one in Swiftneſs of Foot, made an Offer, that whoever could out-run her should have her; but whoever she out-run was to forfeit his Life. Many Lovers came, and died her Victims. In the general Opinion, *Atalanta* was now esteem'd assur'd of gaining any Race she should contend for. At last one *Hippomenes*, who had fallen desperately in Love with her, propos'd to run with her; but, says the Story, *Venus* had given him three golden Apples, which he was to make particular Use of. The Race began, and *Atalanta* gets the Start before him: As soon as he sees this, he threw one of his golden Balls quite out of the Course before her, which she run aside out of the direct Race to take up, by which *Hippomenes* got the Start and left her behind: But she recovering her Speed, gain'd a Space before him again; and he again slung out his other golden Apples, which she was charm'd with, and staid to take up:—Thus *Hippomenes*, by his alluring Bait, (not his Merit) won the Race and the Lady.

As a Comment on this Story, notwithstanding the Interpretations given of it by other Mythologists, I only think *Atalanta* was a very great Beauty; that the Race she run with her Lovers was a mere Course of Courtship, in which, like our modern Beauties, she distanc'd them, and they, like our modern *Strepsons*, died her Victims. At last *Hippomenes* came in a gilt Car, or Chariot, (which *Venus*, the Goddess of Love, knew would have a good Effect) made his Addresſes, and gain'd some Success: But when the Lady push'd him hard again, he dazzled her Eyes with some Jewels; and lastly, by throwing out a handsome Jointure, gain'd his Point, and won the Lady.

This, or something very much like it, I take to be the just Explanation of the Allegory; however, I am certain it bears a strong Allusion to our modern Contests in the Courses of Love and Matrimony, and that we

have our *Hippomenes's* and *Atalantas*, as well as the Ancients.

Extract from the Gazetteer of Oſt. 7. On the Consequences attending seditious Writings spread among a free People.

A PERSONAL Attacks on the Sovereign are such Offences against Decency, as well as such Outrages on the Constitution, that none but Men lost to all Sense of Shame, and who have no Impressions of Duty and Loyalty left in their Minds, can be guilty of them. It is true, that we have now clearer and more rational Notions of Obedience to our Monarch than our immediate Ancestors: We have not, as they had, superstitious Apprehensions of their having divine Rights; but we know what Powers they have by Law, and what Reverence as well as Duty we ought to pay the Possessor of the British Crown, the Defender of the Protestant Faith, the Source of Justice, and the Fountain of Honour. It is impossible therefore that a Man who understands, and is thoroughly attached to our excellent Government, should ever think himself at Liberty to take such Freedoms with a crowned Head, as must infallibly wound the Character of a private Person. His Duty must at least restrain him as much as a Principle of common Justice, and he will never judge such Sneers lawful on the Conduct of his King, as he would blush to be the Author of against the meanest of his Subjects. If ever therefore any Thing of this Sort has appeared, so as to be generally known and understood, it must have proceeded from a Rancour never to be excused, much less to be defended, and could be published from no other Motive than propagating Disaffection, and thereby dissolving that Harmony between the Head and the Members, which is so necessary to the Welfare of the State.

E Besides, any Measures of this Sort are quite unnecessary. There are no Advocates for arbitrary Power, or even for excessive Submission to the Crown. The Principles of Liberty are the orthodox State Creed even at Court. In such Times therefore to use any Practices for debasing the Reverence paid to Majesty, or to render the Royal Dignity less resplendent in the Eyes of the People, is a Work of Supererogation, and may justly be suspected of bad Tendency, however gloss'd or colour'd.

Common Sense, Oſt. 17. N^o 244.

What Branches of TRADE have of late increas'd, and what declin'd.

SOME Years ago the ministerial Writers told us, how extremely light the Taxes were in respect of what the Nation was able

to bear, and we have Reason to remember what follow'd. Their Cant runs afterwards about the Riches of the Nation: It was easy to understand them: If the Nation be overloaded with Riches, it is very fit it should be eas'd of its Burden, and it must be confess'd, that some very good Friends of theirs have an excellent Talent for so pious a Work.

There is a great Genius in this Nation, who is equally skill'd in Trade and in Treaties: He could shew you the Profits of a Trade that has ruin'd all that have dealt in it, and could make you a Treaty, that would break of itself. It is the renown'd Mr. *Balcanke*, who hath discover'd the Secret of the Trade of this Nation being increas'd.

If we bring this Matter to the Test, we must appeal to all Orders and Degrees of Men. — If every Landed Man feels Lands fall, and his Rents worse paid than ever they were before; if the Farmer finds the Markets sink; if Houses lie empty, and their Rents fall; if the Planter in our Islands, whose Income depends upon Trade, finds his Estate also lessen'd; if the Merchant neither exports, nor the Clothier works up as much of our Manufactures as formerly; and if the Labourer be retrench'd in his Wages, or wants Employment, we may ask, from whence does this Wealth arise? For I have not heard of any Mines either of Gold or Silver, that have been discover'd in this Nation within these five and twenty Years.

There is another Thing, which shews the Scarcity of Money among the Gentry, and that is, that Gaming is declined: Examine all the Quadrille Tables, and you will not see Half the Money stirring that there was some Years ago; not that the Spirit of Gaming is dead, for they play still, whenever they have Money, but every body sees they are forced to lessen their Stakes; and if Things decline a little longer in the same Proportion, I shall expect in a little Time to see the prettiest Fingers in *England* employ'd at Penny Quadrille. The Wife of a Placeman may indeed draw out a long Purse, and insult the Company with the Ostentation of her Wealth; but if she will not play at small Game, she must play alone.

I do not mention this as a Grievance, it is a good Effect of a very bad Cause; and to shew that I am inclin'd to be candid, I will name some other very good Effects, which I expect to follow the Scarcity of Money: We shall be forced to leave off our Vices, in Spite of the bad Example shewn us, by those who have engross'd the little Wealth left in the Nation. A Person out of publick Employment, and who never hath a Share in any Jobs, will not long be able either to drink, game, or whore; the Placemen will engross all the Sins, as well as all the Money in the Nation.

But to keep more close to my Subject. — If

Trade sinks in some Articles, and rises in others, it may be said, that the Nation is no Loser upon the Whole; this I cannot deny. And, therefore, I shall name some new Branches of Trade, which have risen in the Place of those that have decay'd.

The Trade of Lying is increas'd, Witness the *Gazetteers*; — the Pensioners Trade, or Trade of Bribery, Witness the late Elections; — the Trade of Jobbs; — the Informers Trade, or to call it by its proper Name, the Trade of Perjury; a Person deceas'd about two Years, who dealt in nothing else, had near 1600 *l.* due to him for his Share of the Profits of this Trade; we may suppose he receiv'd twice as much in his Life, being an industrious Man. Many Hundreds have forsaken all other Ways of Business, to follow this Trade alone: I expect to see them shortly petition for a Charter, that they may be erected into a Corporation, and take Apprentices; that nobody may be capable of practising the Trade, that has not been regularly bred to it. The Goalers Trade is also increased; for I think all the Prisons in the Kingdom have been stock'd by the Informers.

I will allow likewise, that several Persons who were miserably poor some Years ago, are now immensely rich, and that they got it by Trade, tho' I don't think fit to tell what Trade. — I could name a Man that hath laid out, in the Article of *Italian Pictures*, three Times as much as the Estate he was born to, is worth, and hath the same elegant Taste in Painting, as his Coach-Horse. — I could name another, that was born a Beggar, educated a Clown, and finish'd a Fool, who hath amass'd a princely Fortune. — If I should reckon the whole Family (for they are near a-kin) I could shew they have, in the Space of 20 Years, without reckoning Jobbs, receiv'd much above half a Million Sterling; but if every Shilling was got out of the Publick, we cannot be much the richer, where the Balance is so strong against us: — All that we can say is, *Nostra miseria magni sunt.*

A Coffin-maker at *Athens* was fined for complaining of a bad Trade, because his Trade depended upon Sickness and Mortality. When these People brag of a good Trade, they ought at least to be hang'd, for there is this Difference betwixt their Case and that of the Coffin-maker; the Coffin-maker could have no Hand in the publick Calamity that was to increase his Trade, but the publick Miseries that have enrich'd the latter are due to them.

Suppose that false Accounts could be procured from the Custom-House, to persuade us to impose upon the Nation, that Commerce is increas'd; as long as the Exporter, the wholesale Dealer, the Manufacturer, and the Workman feel its Decay, while Land falls, and the Farmer is not able to pay his Rent,

all the Effect such a Voucher would produce, would be to convince the World, that profligate Persons were put into Employments for the Merit of asserting any Falshood that would serve a Turn.

Let us suppose likewise, (what I am afraid is not true) that there is as much Bullion now in the Nation as there was five and twenty Years ago; yet as there is a great Quantity come from *America* since that Time, and of Consequence much more in the rest of *Europe*, if our Stock be not increas'd in Proportion to that of other Nations, we are proportionably much poorer.

Upon the Whole it is to be fear'd, that these false Accounts of our Wealth are not rais'd with a good Design; for those by whose Directions they are given out, must know, by the immense Increase of their own Fortunes, that the Stock in the Hands of the People must be much less than it was;—they have used such strong Suckers, they have work'd the Pump almost dry; a Recruit must be poured in, before it can yield as it hath done;—and telling the People of the Increase of their Wealth in the present Distress, looks like insulting their Poverty.

From the Craftsman, Oct. 17. N^o 798.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,

As you was pleas'd to publish my Prescriptions in *political Physick*, (see p. 456.) I have sent you two more, according to my Promise, which I hope will be of great Use to *Europe*, as well as *England*, and shall continue to correspond with you, till my *political Dispensatory* is finish'd.

Yours, as before,

P. R.

Ad adipiscend. Elect. liber. Imperat. German.

R. Mil. Cop. de Gall. 50,000, de Bavar. 50,000, de Boruss. 50,000, de Colon. & Palat. q. s. ad circumvall. Civitat. de Francofurt. durant. Temp. Elect.

Ad preveniend. Repetund. Corrupt. & Retorn. fals. in futur. pro Civitat. & Libertat. de Westmonast.

R. Collistrig. cum Columbar. quat. Erigat. ant. Portic. Eccles. Div. Paul. in Area vul. vccat. Cov. Gard. surf. exaltent. Balliv. Capital. Balliv. Capital. Deputat. Aleat. fraudulent. Constabular. Capital. & Justiciar. Negotiat. in Di. Mercat. durant. Hor. il. pręparent. Ov. putrid. q. s.

From Common Sense, Oct. 24. N^o 245.

Of the Change of Governments in EUROPE.

WHEN the Northern Nations had, at different Times, over-run the Western Part of the *Roman Empire*, the General of the Army became King of the conquer'd Country, and divided the Lands amongst the great Officers of his Army, afterwards call'd *Barons*; who again parcell'd them out to

the inferior Soldiers, who then became the Vassals, enjoying the Lands for military Service. When this was done, there was no longer any standing Army kept on Foot, but every Man went to live on his own Land; and when the Defence of the Country demanded an Army, the King summon'd his Barons, who came attended with their Vassals. Thus were the Armies of *Europe* compos'd for about 1100 Years; and this Constitution of Government put the Sword into the Hands of the Subjects, which more effectually secur'd the Freedom of these Governments.—No Power of granting or refusing Money, vested in the Subject, can be a sufficient Security for Liberty, where a mercenary Army is kept up in Time of Peace; for he that is arm'd, is always Master of the Purse of him who is unarm'd.

About the Year 1460, ancient Learning beginning to revive, the Customs of the Ancients were introduced among the better Sort of Men. But as Mankind have a natural Propensity to Pleasure, so those Arts were first improv'd, which were subservient to Luxury. Thus Men began to come off from their frugal and military Way of Living, and addic'd themselves to the Pursuit of expensive and refin'd Pleasures. The far greater Share of these Expences fell upon the Barons: This plung'd them into so great Debts, that they found themselves, at last, oblig'd to turn the military Service their Vassals ow'd them into Money; and by these Means the Vassal could be no longer oblig'd to military Service. Thus the Armies, which heretofore had been compos'd of such Men as these, ceas'd, and the Sword fell out of the Hands of the Barons. Mercenary Armies were then rais'd, the Soldiers of which depending immediately on the Prince, the Power of the Sword was transferr'd from the Subject to the King, and War was a Trade to live by.

In *Britain*, tho' the Power of the Barons ceas'd, no mercenary Forces were then establish'd: The Reason of which was, that *England* had before this great Alteration lost her Conquests in *France*, so that the Kings had no Pretence for standing Forces.—King *Charles I.* endeavour'd to make himself absolute, tho' somewhat preposterously; for he attempted to seize the Purse before he was Master of the Sword. But many are of Opinion, that if he had been possess'd of as numerous Guards, as were constantly kept up by *Charles II.* he might have succeeded in his Enterprize. K. *James II.* was the first of our Kings, who was so bold as to keep up a regular Army in Time of Peace; but this was made one of the Articles of his Forfeiture of the Crown, and contributed much to the Revolution. Some former Grievances were rectified at that Period, and our Liberties put in a safer Condition; yet K. *William* attempt-

ed to keep up an Army contrary to the very Foundation of his Government, but, to the immortal Honour of the then Parliament, he was forc'd to disband it. And now that we are govern'd by the Principles of the said Revolution, any one would think it would be an Act of great Boldness in a Ministry, to act contrary to it, in an Article which of all others is most conducive to Slavery. If a mercenary Army be kept up, I desire to know, where the Security of the *British* Liberty can lie: I take it for granted therefore, it will be disbanded the Minute the War is over.

He then answers the Reasons in favour of standing Armies, shews the Dangers that may arise from them, and that we may defend ourselves by well-regulated Militia's.—A good Militia (says he) will always preserve Liberty.—The Militia of ancient Rome made her Mistress of the World; but standing Armies enslav'd that great People, and their excellent Militia and Freedom perish'd together. The *Swiss* at this Day are the freest, and the happiest People of all *Europe*, who can defend themselves best, because they have the best Militia.

Craftsman, Oct. 24. N^o 799.

THE present melancholy State of *Europe*, by the Demise of the late Emperor, is now so universally known, that I shall not insist upon it any farther till the Election of a new Emperor gives me a fair Opportunity. In the mean time, I will present my Readers with the Character of a private Person, who hath acquired an ample Fortune from a very small Beginning.

This illustrious Gentleman was the younger Son of an antient Family in the North-East Part of *England*; to which belong'd a pretty good Estate, tho' a little incumber'd with Debt. He set out first in the World as an inferior Officer over the venerable Company of Beef-eaters. His next Advancement was to a little understrapping Employment in an Embassy of great Importance, by which he gain'd some Reputation, without any Merit. But having an elder Brother of a much greater Capacity than himself, he was promoted *per Saltum*, from one Employment to another, till he became the second Atlas of the State, and the prime Negotiator of all *Europe*.

His first Appearance in high Life, if I remember right, was in the Court of *France*, to which he was sent upon an extraordinary Errand, to bubble an old crafty Jesuit, who was thought to have assumed more Power for his Master than was consistent with the general Interest of *Europe*. In order to prevent this Evil, our wise Politician enter'd into sundry Negotiations, concluded many Preliminaries, Conventions, and definitive Treaties, and several Times answer'd for the Cordiality of our Court; but after having employ'd all

his great Talents in vain, for several Years, he return'd to his native Country, and was farther rewarded for his Services.

His next Expedition was to *Holland*, upon an Errand of much the same Kind, and in which he met with the same Success; for the stubborn and unmannerly *Hogan Mogans* would not suffer him to dictate Law to them, and enter implicitly into his Measures.

From thence, as I am credibly inform'd, he went to *Vienna*, and concluded a solemn Treaty, which was never executed.

It was likewise reported (but I will not answer for the Truth of it) that he was to be sent Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to *Constantinople*, to negotiate a Peace between the Grand Signor, and his late Imperial Majesty. But the Marquis de Villeneuve got the Start of him, and put a Stop to that wise Scheme, by obliging the poor Emperor to throw himself into the Arms of his mortal Enemy, which hath already near destroy'd his whole Family.

Let us now take a short View of his Conduct and Behaviour in private Life.

As it is recorded of the divine *Plato*, that when he was a little Child, and lay asleep in his Cradle, a Swarm of Bees settled upon his Lips, which was thought an Omen of his future Eloquence; so I have heard it affirm'd, that the Midwife of this Hon. Gentleman prognosticated, upon the very Day of his Birth, that he would prove an admirable Wit, and a Poet of great Humour; upon which Prediction, his Parents gave him the Name of *Horace*, and he hath not deceived their Expectations; for he hath certainly distinguish'd himself in both Characters; tho' it must be allow'd that he sometimes exceeds the Bounds of common Decency, like his old Name-sake of *Rome*, and is apt to mix a little too much Leudness with his Wit, especially amongst the Ladies.

His personal Qualifications, as a Gentleman, will admit of no Dispute; for, excepting as before excepted, there is not a more accomplish'd Person in the Kingdom; genteel in his Person, of Manners polite, and pure in his Morals; but I must beg the Liberty to say, as Doctor *Swift* does in his Letters, of his old Friend the late Doctor *Arbutnot*, that he hath the Misfortune to have a little Slouch in his Gait.

Is it not astonishing that so profound a Genius is not yet advanced to any higher Dignity than a few lucrative Employments, not amounting at most to above 20,000*l.* a Year? Is it not a Shame to a free Country that he should not be made Secretary of State, or High Treasurer, after so many important Services? Ought he not to be made a Peer, and distinguish'd with a blue, or at least a red Ribbon?—I shall conclude with saying, that he is a most wise, a most excellent, and admirable Minister.

On FALSE HISTORIANS.

A SATIRE.

By RICHARD SAVAGE, Esq;

SURE, of all plagues with which dull prose
is curst.
Scandals from *false historians* spot the worst:
In quest of *these* the *Muse* shall first advance,
Bold to explore the regions of romance:
Romance call'd *bist'ry*.—Lo! at once she skims
The visionary world of monkish whims;
Where fallacy in legends wildly shines,
And vengeance glares from violated shrines;
Where saints perform all tricks, and startle
thought
With many a miracle, that ne'er was wrought;
Saints that ne'er liv'd, or such as justice paints
Jugglers, on superstition palm'd for saints.
Here *canoniz'd*, let *creed-mongers* be shown
Red-letter'd saints, and *red assassins* known;
While those they martyr'd, such as angels
rose!
All, black-enroll'd among religion's foes,
Snatch'd by sulphureous clouds, a *lye* pro-
claims, [flames.
Number'd with fiends, and plung'd in endless
Hist'ry from air or deep draws many a
sprite, [fright;
Such as from *nurse* or *priest* might boys af-
Or such as but o'er sev'nish slumbers fly,
And fix in melancholy *frenzy's* eye.
Now meteors make enthusiast wonder stare,
And image wild portentous wars in air!
Seers fall intranc'd! Some *wizard's* lawless
skill [will!
Now whirls, now settles nature's works at
Thus *bist'ry* by machine mock *epic* seems,
Not from poetic, but from monkish dreams.
The *dev'l*, who *priest* and *forc'er* must o-
bey,
The *forc'er* us'd to raise, the *parson* lay;
When *Eachard* wav'd his pen, the *bist'ry*
shows,
The *parson* conjur'd, and the *fiend* uprose.
A camp at distance, and the scene a wood,
Here enter'd *Noll*, and there old *Satan* stood.
No tail his rump, his foot no hoof reveal'd;
Like a wise cuckold with his horns conceal'd:
Not a gay serpent glitt'ring to the eye;
But more than serpent, or than harlot fly;
For lawyer-like, a *fiend* no wit can 'scape,
The *dæmon* stands confess in proper shape!
Now spreads his parchment, now is sign'd the
scroll;
Thus *Noll* gains empire, and the *dev'l* has *Noll*.
Wondrous historian! thus account for evil,
And thus for its success—'tis all the devil:

* The Minutes of Monsieur Menager, a Book calculated to vilify the Administration in the last Years of Q. Ann's Reign. The Truth is, that this Libel was not written by Mr. Menager, neither was any such Book ever printed in the French Tongue; from which it is impudently said in the Title Page to be translated.

Tho' ne'er that devil we saw, yet one we see,
One of an *author* sure, and—*thou art he*.

But dusky phantoms, *Muse*, no more pur-
Now clearer objects open—yet untrue. [sue!
Awful the genuine historian's name!
False ones—with what materials build they
fame?

Fabricks of fame, by dirty means made good;
As nests of martins are compil'd of mud:
Peace be with *Curll*—with him I wave all
strife,

Who pens each *felon's*, and each *actor's* life;
Biography that cooks the devil's martyrs,
And lards with luscious rapes the cheats of
Charters.

Materials, which belief in *Gazettes* claim,
Loose-strung, run jingling into *hist'ry's* name.
Thick as *Egyptian* clouds of raining flies;
As thick as worms, where man corrupting
lies;

As pests obscene, that haunt the ruin'd pile;
As monsters flound'ring in the muddy Nile;
Minutes, memoirs, views and reviews appear,
Where slander darkens each recorded year.
In a past reign is feign'd some am'rous league;
Some ring or letter now reveals th' intrigue.

Queens with their minions work unseemly
things, [kings.

And boys grow dukes, when catamites to
Does a prince die? what poisons they surmise?
No royal mortal sure by nature dies.

Is a prince born? what birth more base be-
liev'd? [conceiv'd.

Or, what's more strange! his mother ne'er
Thus slander popular o'er truth prevails,
And easy minds imbibe romantick tales.
Thus, 'stead of history, such authors raise
Mere, crude, wild novels of bad hints for plays.

Some usurp names.—An *English* garrater,
From minutes forg'd, is monsieur *Menager*.*

Some, while on good or ill success they
stare,

Give conduct a complexion dark or fair.
Others, as little to enquiry prone, [know
Account for actions, tho' their springs un-

One *statesman* vices has, and virtues too;
Hence will contested character ensue. [can,
View but the black he's fiend, the bright but
He's angel. View him all—he's still a man:
But such historians all accuse, acquit;
No virtue these, and those no vice admit;
For either in a friend no fault will know,
And neither own a virtue in a foe. [names,

Where *bear-say* knowledge sits on publick
And bold conjecture or extols or b'ames,
Spring party libels; from whose ashes dead,
A monster, misnam'd *bist'ry*, lifts its head.
Contending factions croud to hear its roar!
But, when once heard, it dies to noise no
more.

From these no answer, no applause from those,
O'er half they simper, and o'er half they dose.
So when in senate, with egregious pate,
Perks up Sir Billy in some deep debate,
He hems, looks wise, tunes thin his lab'ring
throat, [vote ;
To prove black white, postpone or palm the
In sly contempt, some, bear him! bear him!
cry ; [reply.
Some yawn, some sneer ; none second, none
But dare such miscreants now rush abroad,
By blanket, cane, pump, pillory unaw'd?
Dare they imp fallhood thus and plume her
wings,

From present characters and recent things?
Yes what nstruths? or truths in what dis-
guise?

What *Boyers* and what *Oldmixons* arise?

What *facts* from all but *them* and *slander*
screen'd?

Here meets a council, no where else conven'd.
There from *originals* come, thick as spawn,
Letters ne'er wrote, *memorials* never drawn ;
To *secret conf'rence* never held they yoke,
Treaties ne'er plan'd, and *speeches* never spoke.
From, *Oldmixon*, thy brow, too well we know,
Like *sin* from *Satan's*, far and wide they go.

In vain may *St. John* safe in conscience sit,
In vain with truth confute, condemn with wit ;
Confute, condemn amid selected friends ;
There sinks the justice, there the satire ends.
Here, tho' a *cent'ry* scarce such leaves unclose,
From mold and dust the slander sacred grows.
Now none reply where all despise the page ;
But will dumb scorn deceive no future age ?
Then, should dull periods cloud not seeming
fact,

Will no fine pen th' unanswer'd lye extract ?
Well-set in plan, and polish'd into stile,
Fair, and more fair, may finish'd fraud beguile ;
By ev'ry language snatch'd, by time receiv'd,
In ev'ry clime, by ev'ry age believ'd.
How vain to virtue trust the great their name,
When such their lot for infamy or fame?

BRITAIN'S GENIUS: Written just af-
ter the late Misfortune at CARTAGENA.

WHILST patriots sad, with pensive brow
proclaim

The fading honours of the *Br-t-sh* name ;
Whilst coward statesmen with malignant smiles
Brood o'er their plots, and hug the growing ills,
With secret rapture see their schemes succeed,
The base victorious, and the valiant bleed ;
Britannia's Genius, with an eye serene,
Secure of fame, surveys the various scene ;
Secure of fortune, whilst her dread commands
Are safely lodg'd in *Vernon's* patriot hands.
In vain, the goddess cries, one adverse hour
Has dim'd the lamp of fame, and check'd his
pow'r ;

In vain the pestilential vapours rise,
Taint the blue æther, and infect the skies ;

Or damps unwholsome, on the hostile ground,
Steal through the host, and scatter poisons
round ;

In vain the faithless *Gaul* assails the foe,
Contrives the mine, and gives the deadly blow ;
Bids native cowards martial fury dare,
Directs the cannon's rage, and rules the war :
In spite of these, my *Vernon* shall prevail,
Whilst pride, and disappointed envy fail ;
Soon as the pow'rful sun's propitious ray
Has chac'd the fogs and baleful dews away,
In strength renew'd, and by repulse inspir'd,
With vengeance arm'd, and just resentment
fir'd,

Shall on the prostrate foe, exulting, fall,
And with redoubled thunders shake their wall.
Again shall *Wentworth*, with a gen'ral's care,
Urge his embattled heroes to the war,
With ardent hopes inspire the gen'rous van,
And drive the kindling fires from man to man.
Already see the thick battalions move,
Inspir'd by honour, and their country's love ;
Each heart a godlike emulation warms,
And glory courts, with all her martial charms,
To tread the fields of death with bold delight,
To prove the noble horrors of the fight,
To mount the breach, to scale the lofty wall,
In vict'ry great, or glorious in their fall,
O'er hills of heroes slain to force their way,
To press the flying foe, and win the doubtful
day.

See, high in air *Britannia's* standard flies,
And tells her triumph to the earth and skies ;
So wont to rise on *Landau's* tow'ring walls,
Or in the field to fright the conquer'd *Gauls*,
Shall once again assert her matchless pow'r,
And *Spain* shall fear, what *France* has felt
before.

Oh! never shall *Britannia's* genius dare
To soil her fame with one inglorious fear,
Whilst, conscious of herself, she still pursues
The noblest actions, with the noblest views,
Whilst justice arms her to the destin'd fight,
The scourge of lawless pow'r, of tyrant
might,

And great asserter of an injur'd right :
No furious zeal, or false religious pride,
Or wild ambition o'er her hopes preside ;
She never bids her bold victorious bands,
In scenes of slaughter stain their conqu'ring
hands,

To plunder provinces with ruthless ire,
And waste the fertile glebe with sword and
fire ;

But greatly hopes for one important hour,
To aid a brave ally, or quell a tyrant pow'r.
See where her well-appointed fleets advance,
The dread of *Europe*, and the scourge of *France*,
Prepar'd to thunder on the hostile shore,
Till *Fr-eb* insult, and *Spaniard* rob no more,
From sea to sea, from world to world to roll,
And scatter vengeance round from pole to pole.

The goddess now surveys her darling land,
And smiles serene on that illustrious band

Of *British* warriors, by experience taught
How *Anna* conquer'd, and how *Churebill*
fought; [crown'd,

Crown'd old in fame, with royal favour
For glorious toils, and labours past, renown'd;
Yet vow to shed the last remains of life,
For *Britain's* glory, in the martial strife;
Spite of their hoary locks, to grasp the spear,
Rouse from the arms of peace, and shine a-
gain in war:

Or blooming youths, who new to wars alarms,
Pant at the glorious sound, and din of arms,
Whose early years a brave ambition fires,
With more than manly hopes, and fierce de-
sires,

To equal all their great forefathers did,
Or in the bold attempt with honour bleed.
Whilst justice arms her, and whilst such
maintain,

Secure shall *Britain* plough the subject main,
And crush th' united pride of *Fr—ce* and
Spain.

GRATITUDE. An ODE.

MY Friend, my Saviour, and my God,
O how shall I declare
The ardors of my glowing heart!
But they to thee appear.

In wonder lost, ten thousand themes
Demand my grateful song;
Most, that thy mercies, tho' provok'd,
My worthless life prolong.

In youth, what raptures fill'd my soul!
Before I well cou'd know
The glorious source from whence such bliss
Did in full torrents flow.

When learning had enlarg'd my mind,
And open'd a new field,
The contemplation of thy works
Did other pleasures yield.

But vice soon threaten'd to destroy
My too-presumptuous soul;
As soon thy kindness bitter mix'd
In the luxurious bowl.

My soul was then to pain expos'd,
And days in sorrow drown'd;
But when the most oppress'd, in thee
I always comfort found.

My friends prov'd false. My friends! ev'n they
Who shou'd have most been kind;
But in the terrors of that gloom
Thy mercy doubly shin'd:

Thy goodness rais'd me other friends,
And a new breaking day
Did with warm joy my heart dilate,
And brighter scenes display.

So o'er the foamy, working seas
The lab'ring vessel flies,
While waves on waves in tumults break,
And wash the azure skies:

Tho' loud the storm, thy potent voice
No sooner awes the main,
The thunder of the tempest falls,
And all grows calm again.

No longer the fierce winds conspir'd
O'er the wide ocean sweep;
But soft *Etesian* gales arise,
And charm the silver'd deep.

Instead of fabled muses, fire
My breast to hymn thy name:
O pardon what is past! thy love
Is glory, health, and fame.

Thou beauty's source! O grant this wish!
May I enjoy thy fight,
Dissolve in rapt'rous praise, and melt
In beatifick light.

EPI TAPH

On Mrs. JONES,

GRANDMOTHER

Of Mrs. Bridget Jones of Llanelly in Carmarthenshire.

By RICHARD SAVAGE, Esq;

IN her, whose relics mark this sacred earth,
Shone all domestic, and all social worth.
First, heav'n her hope with early offspring
crown'd;

And thence a second race rose num'rous round.
Heav'n to industrious virtue blessing lent,
And all was competence, and all content.

Tho' frugal care, in wisdom's eye admir'd,
Knew to preserve what industry acquir'd,
Yet, at her board, with decent plenty blest,
The journeying stranger sat a welcome guest.
Pres'd on all sides, did trading neighbours fear
Ruin, which hung o'er exigence severe?
Farewel the friend, who spar'd th' assistant
loan——

A neighbour's woe or welfare was her own.
Did pitious *Lazars* oft attend her door?
She gave.—Farewel the parent of the poor.
Youth, age, and want, once chear'd, now
fishing (well),

Bless her lov'd name, and weep a last farewell.

S I R,

The following was wrote by a young Lady,
on reading some miserable Verses, intended as
a congratulatory Ode in Honour to the Nup-
tials of the Right Hon. Lord *Euston* with the
Lady *Dorothy Boyle*; sign'd *W. Bryan*.

UNhallow'd wretch! how dares thy male
Aspire, when *Phœbus*' sons refuse?
Too lofty still the theme!

Fool! thus to thrash thy barren brain,
And beat out hobbling verse, 'tis plain,
Thy flights are all a dream,

Th' effects of frenzy first to last;
O! Labe drink, forget what's past,
No more thy rhyme-harps play on;

But if thou needs must act a part,
Still pass for what thou really art,
E'en prithee, *Bryan!*—*bray on.*

On seeing his Royal Highness the PRINCE of
WALES at Brownky.

SURPRIZ'D, O *Frederick*, I stood
When first thy manly form I view'd;
Intent on thee, and pleas'd to trace
The beauties of thy mind and face,
I quit my *Sylvia's* much lov'd side,
And urge the vessel thro' the tide.
Hail to my country's future king!
For thee I lift my voice to sing:
O born to bless the *British* isle!
If on thy hard thou deign to smile,
Wide o'er the world in daring lays,
The grateful muse shall spread thy praise;
Shall teach mankind to bow the knee,
And pay the homage due to thee.

Poole.

H. PRICE.

SIGIONOTH. Or HARAKKUK's third
Chapter paraphras'd.

LORD! I have heard thy voice, and who
can be
Untouch'd with sorrows at the just decree?
Oppressive chains are ours, and instant woe,
So heav'n has destin'd, and it must be so.
Teach us to bear th' appointed term of pain,
And without murmurs drag the penal chain,
Till thou, in whose protection lies our strength,
Renounce thy judgments, and art calm at
length,
And snatch from all its woe a fav'rite race,
Whelm'd in the dust, and objects of disgrace.
Then shalt thou shine in all the blaze of pow'r
Effulgent, as on that auspicious hour,
When high in vehicle of lambent flame,
Shot from th' aerial height the prince of
thunders came.

On *Paran's* sacred mount th' Eternal rode,
And *Teman's* sounding summits felt the God.
When lo! by his extensive terrors aw'd,
Him worlds above, and worlds below applaud.
A stream of lustre all around he cast,
Such lustre as a thousand suns surpass'd.
From his dread eyes resistless lightnings shot,
And on his arm omnipotence he wrote.
Myriads of wing'd diseases round him wait,
And pestilence and death augment the state.
Sublime he stood, and measur'd at a glance,
Each distant corner of the earth's expanse.
Whole nations scatter'd at his dreadful look,
Strong holds, and everlasting mountains shook.
Deep groan the vales, th' afflicted hillocks
nod,

[the God.

So permanent his ways, so godlike march'd
The tents of *Cushan* in distress I saw,
And *Midian* trembled with excessive awe.
Say, was thine anger turn'd against the seas,
Or could the rivers in their course displease?

Why did our God his chariot-force provide,
And on his horses of salvation ride?
Why did our God his naked bow sustain?
And with a *fiat* cleave th' obedient main?
The inmost caverns of the earth unlock,
And call forth waters from the soften'd rock?
The memorable time was then at hand,
To lead his *Israel* to the promis'd land.
For this, the currents start beside their beds,
And bending forests shake their palsy heads:
Ocean (as if it wept) its watry eye
Rais'd upward, and his roaring reach'd the sky,
Ev'n the pale moon stood paler with dismay,
The sun, astonish'd, halted on his way,
And wonder'd at the slaughter of the day.
For this in quintessence of might, the God
March'd onward, and indignant flew abroad.
The heathen fell in undistinguish'd heaps,
And blood and desolation mark'd his steps.
For this, his people thro' the deep he led,
And kept inviolate th' anointed head.
Onward they rush'd like whirlwinds, to ensnare
The poor,—the poor was safe, for God was there;
He who the storms in due subjection keeps,
Rides on the deluge, and directs the deeps.

Soon as the oracle of God foretold
The fate that *Sion* long deserv'd of old,
Oh with what fears my conscious soul was fill'd,
What briny sweat from ev'ry pore distill'd!
For much I fear'd the savage foe to prove,
Fix'd to revenge, and destitute of love.

What tho' the fig-tree shall no blossoms
yield,
No fruit the vineyard, and no crops the field,
What tho' ungrateful to our utmost toil,
The wither'd olive flint its promis'd oil,
Tho' loathsome murrains on our kine befall,
Depopulate the fold, and thin the stall?
Tho' all around in anarchy be hurl'd,
Thy church shall stand amidst the bursting
world;

Till heaven's Supreme his own elect release,
And all be fix'd repose, and all eternal peace.

Ipswich, October

16, 1741.

Lewis Jones,

S I R,

Reading the *Daily Advertiser* of the 3th
Instant, I was pretty well pleas'd with the
EPITAPH for the late Emperor *Charles VI.*
said to be handed about at the *Hague*; which
I translated thus in *Latin*.

ULTIMUS Austriacus jacet hac tellure se-
pultus,

Cui mors sera nimis, vel properata fuit.
Hostibus oppressus, claudens inglorius annos;
Hæredem expectans, vanaque vota videns,
Litibus implexam natam dubiisque reliquit,
Sceptraque, jure aliis debita principibus.
Et sponsum dedit orbatum ditione paternas
Immensos titulos, prætereaque nihil.
Quid, regina, juvat tantæ succedere stirpi,
Consilio, sociis, milite & aere carente?

The

The ORIGINAL is as follows.

DES fiers Autrichiens gift ici le dernier,
Trop tard pour son bonheur, trop tot pour
sa famille,

En attendant un beritier.

*Ce prince trouva l'art de laisser à sa fille
Un beritage en l'air, des droits litigeux,
Un epoux depouille des biens de ses ayeux:
De cent titres brillant la pompeuse fumée:
Sans argent, sans conseil, sans ami, sans armée.*

In ENGLISH thus.

OF the proud Austrian line the last is
laid here,

For his honour too late, for his children too
quick, [appear,

Who in hopes a male heir would sometime
In his wisdom profound play'd his daughter this
trick;

A succession he left her that's not to be had,
A spouse to whom nought from his grandfires
descends, [mad,

A long list of titles, may make her run
No treasure, no council, no army, no friends.

To ALEXANDER POPE, Esq;

The MUSES Complaint.

*The Nine assembled in full meeting,
To Alex. Pope of Twitnam greeting.*

WHEREAS petitions have been sent
To Phebus and his parliament,

From certain mal-contents below,
Which said petitions humbly show,
That you, our son, who now so long
Have reign'd o'er the poetick throng;
Though loth to yield the laurel crown,
Or lay the regal scepter down;
In pompous state still idly sit,
And think the world beneath your wit,
And since it owns, and dreads your pow'r,
You proudly say you'll write no more.

Bless us! 'tis strange, three tedious years,
They say, and not a line appears;
Not one poetic cobweb spun,
From thirty-eight to forty one;
Besides, there's not a poem made,
You have quite spoil'd the critick's trade;
The minor poets, till you die,
Must grovel in obscurity;
For till the sun is gone to bed,
Poor bats and owls must hide their head.

This will admit of no excuses,
You must not thus affront the Muses;
Hast thou so soon, ingrate, forgot
Our tender love; say, have we not
These forty years gone hand in hand,
Your humble servants at command?
Despised the women, left the men,
To guide thy hand and hold thy pen?

Another Horace giv'n in thee,
Blest thee with Homer's majesty;
With Ovid's art, and Virgil's fire,
All thy fond wishes cou'd desire?
And truly now we've serv'd your ends,
'Tis thus that you reward your friends.
Some folks have made a tedious fuss,
And laid forsooth the fault on us,
And then, because they know your worth,
Your parts, your merit, and so forth,
Have from your silence ta'en occasion,
To hint with vile insinuation,
That we've withdrawn our inspiration.
' Ay, fickle fair ones they, cries one,
' They're here to day, to-morrow gone.'
' Those ladies, 'tis their sex's way'
Another quivling's pleas'd to say,
' Have left him now; they'll come no more;
' The reason's plain, the man's three-score.'

Now, Sir, to set our honour clear,
(And sure you hold our honour dear)
We by Apollo's own desire,
Do by these presents here require
Quickly, on pain of our displeasure,
Some fruits of this long learned leisure,
Ethicks, epistles, odes, or satires,
Or any such portick matters,
Which you, Sir Bard, we know 'twixt friends,
Have always at your fingers ends,
Things that we're sure will please the nation,
And save besides our reputation;
Then will the world with pleasure say,
That we command, and you obey,
And friends will praise, and foes admire
What you shall write, and we inspire.
Parnassus, Oct. 17, 1741.

The PRIVY.

LONG was the Muse of every theme bereft,
There's not a palace, not a hero left;
Poets have told how every stone was plac'd,
And have each footstep of the hero trac'd.
Thus she complain'd, when strait with joy she
found,

A noted temple built on hollow'd ground.
Strait she repair'd to't, when she thus began,
Hail sacred shrine, contriv'd for use of man;
Thou'st numbers of adorers, there's not one,
But does for aid to thy assistance run;
Beggars, and mighty princes, both to thee,
With reverence stoop down and bow the knee.
They bow, I say, let that be kept in mind,
For let me see, there's something still behind.
You seem impatient and expect I'll tell ye,
Then to be brief, they come to ease the belly.
What makes you smile? you'd have it plain
yet,

Why then, take notice, they sit down and sh-t;
Now den't look sour, and say 't's an ugly word,
I might have said, their offering was a t—d.
Keep now your tempers, and to close the matter,
In softer terms, I'll say, they ease their nature.

THE

T H E Monthly Chronologer.

Dublin, Sept. 26.



LAST Night was seiz'd a Parcel of Woollen Goods, which appear'd to be French, and run from thence: This shews the bad Consequences of running raw Wool into France, whereby that Nation can sell Cloths so cheap, that Persons attempt the importing them here to Advantage; and if so, how must they undersel us at foreign Markets?

Sept. 28. The *Nancy* arriv'd at *Falmouth*, with Letters from *Madeira* of the 18th, N.S. giving an Account, That his Majesty's Ship *Succest*, Captain *Thompson*, arriv'd there the 2d with a large Ship of 300 Tons, laden with Sugar, *Cochineal*, *Cocoa*, &c. She had 180,000 Dollars, 60 Bars of Gold and Silver, some Cases directed to *Don Blas*, &c. All the Letters from *Madeira* say she is the richest Ship taken since the War; inasmuch that the Captain's Share of the Prize, 'tis said, will be upwards of 60,000*l.* his two Lieutenants 20,000*l.* each, and so in Proportion to his other Officers, and that the common Sailors will have at least 500*l.* apiece.

Whitehall, Sept. 29. Captain *Ambrose*, Commander of his Majesty's Ship the *Rupert*, writes Word, that as he was cruising off *Cape Machiacaca*, on the 18th Instant in the Evening, he saw a Sail from the Masthead to Windward, which he chased all that Night and the next Day, and about 11 at Night came up with her, and after some Resistance, took her. She is the largest Privateer belonging to *St. Sebastian's*, called the *Duke de Vendome*, of 26 Carriage Guns, and 202 Men; the Captain was one *Don Martin de Areneder*, a Frenchman, and most of her Crew of foreign Nations; there were 19 English, Scotch, and Irish on board, who say, they were taken out of Prison, and forced by the Intendant to proceed on the Cruise. The Captain of the Prize and 29 Men were kill'd, and 20 so wounded that few of them can recover. The *Rupert* had but one Man killed, another his Hand shot off, and three slightly wounded. The Prize is a new Ship from the Stocks, of the Dimensions of our 20 Gun Frigates; she sails exceeding well, Captain *Ambrose* having chased her 218 Miles before he came up with her. Captain *Ambrose* ranging along the Coast of France, in his Return met with an Irish Brigantine, from the West Part of Ireland, laden with Wool,

and bound to *Nantz*, which he seized, and has brought her, with the other Prize, into *Plymouth*.

Sir *Robert Godscball*, Knt. and Ald. being chosen Lord Mayor for the Year ensuing, (after having been several Times set aside by the Court of Aldermen, of which we gave an Account in our *Mag.* for Oct. 1740, p. 506, 507. and in our *Mag.* for March 1741, p. 152.) he hereupon address'd himself from the Hustings to the Liverymen, thank'd them for the Honour conferr'd upon him now, as well as their good Intentions to him before; and assur'd them, that in the Administration of that high Office, he would be particularly careful of the Rights and Privileges of his Fellow Citizens, and ever ready to promote the Interest and Commerce of this great trading City.

At the same Time the Thanks of the City were unanimously voted to *Daniel Lambert*, Esq; the old Lord Mayor.

Sept. 30. was a general Meeting of the Gentlemen of the College of Physicians, when Dr. *Plumbtree* was rechosen President, Dr. *Tyson*, Treasurer, and Dr. *Reeve*, Secretary: At the same Time, Dr. *Wilmot*, Dr. *Stuart*, Dr. *Reeve*, and Dr. *Horsman*, were chosen Censors; and Dr. *Thomas Addams* was elected Fellow of the said College.

THURSDAY, OCT. 8.

John Bodkin Fitz Oliver (with two other Persons his Accomplices) was executed in Ireland, for the Murder of his Father, Step-Mother, Step-Brother, and the whole Family, to the Number of 11 Persons, in a lonely House about 3 Miles from *Tuam*. After a few Minutes hanging, they were cut down, had their Heads cut off, and were gibbeted near the House where the Murder was committed.

FRIDAY, 16.

The Sessions ended at the *Old Baily*, when the Six following Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, viz. *James Duquois* and *Joseph Allen*, for robbing *Charles Wells* on the Highway, and taking 2*l.* 6*d.* in Silver and other Things: *William Quait*, for robbing *Richard Dance* in *St. James's Park* of a Silver Watch: *Mary Page*, for stealing out of the House of *Rice Price* two brocaded Gowns and other Things: *Robert Ramsey*, for robbing Mr. *Glynn* at the Corner of *Hatton Garden*, of Plate to a considerable Value: And, *John Culliford*, for returning from Transportation.

MONDAY, 19.

His Majesty having embark'd on board the *Katherine*

Katherine Yacht at Helvoetsluys on Sunday, landed safe this Morning about 11 at Aldborough in Suffolk, after a quick Passage.

TUESDAY, 30.

His Majesty having lodg'd the preceding Night, at Lord Percival's near *Harwich*, between Two and Three this Afternoon arriv'd at *St. James's*, passing thro' the City in an open Landau, in which were, with his Majesty, the Duke of *Richmond*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and Lord *Delaware*.

THURSDAY, 22.

This Day the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London* waited on his Majesty, to congratulate him on his safe Return; when Sir *John Strange*, the Recorder, made their Compliments in the following Speech.

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's safe Return to Great Britain being a Matter of universal Joy to every Part of it, the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of your capital City, have humbly desir'd this Opportunity of laying themselves at your Majesty's Feet, with their sincere and most dutiful Congratulations upon so happy an Event; the bare Possibility of Danger to such a Prince, must naturally suggest many anxious Thoughts to our Minds; the Day, therefore, which restor'd your Majesty to this Nation, in Health and Security, must ever be remember'd with Thankfulness and Joy.

The Sword is now drawn in so many Parts of *Europe* and *America*, that we are sensible your Majesty's Labours must be exceeding great, in attending to all the different Occurrences occasion'd thereby. It is from this unwearied Application, and from the Readiness of your faithful Subjects to assist your Majesty in asserting the Rights of *Great Britain*, that we promise ourselves a happy Issue of the present Troubles, and the Establishment of our Trade and Commerce upon a solid and lasting Foundation.

Permit us, Sir, upon this our first Opportunity, to return your Majesty our humble Thanks for the Charter we have lately receiv'd, whereby the Number of Justices of the Peace in the City of *London* is increas'd; this, as it was ask'd and granted with a View only to the Furtherance of Justice, we beg Leave to assure your Majesty, shall accordingly be applied. (See p. 463.)

May God long preserve your Majesty, and accomplish all your Designs for the Good of your People.

To which his Majesty return'd this most gracious Answer.

I THANK you for this Mark of your Duty and Affection. You may be assur'd of my constant and firm Resolution to assert and maintain, in the most effectual Manner, the Rights of *Great Britain*; and to carry on,

with Vigour, those just and necessary Measures, which have been so unanimously supported, till the Trade and Commerce of these Kingdoms shall be establish'd upon a firm and lasting Foundation.

They all had the Honour to kiss his Majesty's Hand.

A grand Council was held at *St. James's*, when a Proclamation was ordered to be issued out for summoning the Parliament to meet and sit for the Dispatch of divers weighty and important Affairs, on Tuesday the first of December next.

In the Evening was held a Council at the Cockpit, when it was order'd, that the 25th of November next be kept as a Day of solemn Fasting and Humiliation, for imploring the Blessing of God on his Majesty's Arms.

TUESDAY, 27.

From the London Gazette.

On Saturday last Capt. *Boys*, Commander of the *Aetna* Fire-ship, arrived here express with Letters from Vice-Admiral *Vernon* in *Cumberland* Harbour, formerly called *Waltbam*, on the South Side of the Island of *Cuba*, and from Major-General *Wentworth* from his Camp on the said Island, bearing Date from July 28. to Sept. 3. and containing an Account, That on July 1. they set sail from *Port Royal* in *Jamaica*, and arrived the 18th of the same Month, with 41 Sail of Transports and Store-ships, and with his Majesty's Ships and Tenders, 61 Sail in all, at the Place above-mentioned, where they had the Pleasure to find themselves possessed of the finest Harbour in the *West-Indies*, capable of containing any Number of Shipping, and secure against Hurricanes; to which the Admiral immediately gave the Name of *Cumberland*, in Honour of his Royal Highness the Duke.

The Admiral immediately sent some light Vessels about 5 Leagues up the River. The Troops were landed and incamped by the 25th, from which Time the General had made several Detachments to reconnoitre and scour the Country, who had repulsed several advanced Guards of the *Spaniards*, and brought in Plenty of Provisions for the Use of the Fleet and Army.

Both the Sea and Land Forces were posted in such a Manner, and such Preparations made for the Reception of the Enemy, that they were in no Apprehension as to the Security of the Possession they had taken, but were taking proper Measures, when the Letters came away, for advancing further into the Country.

The Place of their Encampment was about 23 Leagues distant from *St. Jago de Cuba*. The Country which his Majesty's Forces have thus taken Possession of, is provided with a very fine fresh-water River, (call'd in the Papers *Aguina - Anima*) navigable for several Leagues, and abounding with Cattle and Provisions.

The Admiral sends Word by this Express, that the *Worcester*, being on a Cruize, had taken and brought into Cumberland Harbour, a Spanish Man of War of 24 Guns and 220 Men, which sailed on June 29. from Port Passage, with Dispatches for the Viceroy of Mexico; but the Commander thereof had thrown all his Letters overboard before he was taken. This Ship was said to be the Privateer who took our two Turkey Ships in the Channel, and to have been purchased by the Crown of Spain, as a very extraordinary Sailor. Vice-Admiral Vernon mentions likewise, that he had received a Letter by the *Deptford*, from Capt. Trevor, Commander of the *Defiance*, giving him an Account, that he had taken, off *Rio la Hacha*, a Ship of 350 Tons, 12 Guns, and 50 Men, called the *Providence*, laden with Beef, Pork, Flour, Brandy, Wine, and Bar Iron, bound for *Cartagena*, and some dry Goods, which he supposes to be one of the Spanish Register Ships from *Cadiz*. THURSDAY, 29.

The Right Hon. Sir Robert Godscall, Knt. the new Lord Mayor of London, was with the usual Solemnity sworn into that high and honourable Office at *Westminster*, for the Year ensuing. FRIDAY, 30.

Was celebrated the Anniversary of his Majesty's Birth-day, who then enter'd into the 59th Year of his Age.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

THOMAS Lord Erskine, to Lady Charlotte Hope, Daughter to the Earl of Hopetoun.

Mr. Johnson of Stockport, Manager of the great Silk-Works there, to Miss Skelborn of that Town.

William Chaloner, Esq; of Gifbrough, to Miss Finny, a very great Fortune.

John Frederick, Esq; of Burwood in Surrey, to Miss Hudson, Daughter of Sir Roger Hudson, Knt.

Mr. Lloyd, a Gentleman of a great Estate in Lincolnshire, to Miss Sally Gascoigne.

Sir Henry John Parker, Bart. to Miss Kitty Page, of Wandsworth.

James Fitz Gerald, of the Middle Temple, Esq; to the Hon. Mrs. Calvert, Relict of the Hon. Edward Henry Calvert, Esq; Brother to the Lord Baltimore.

Lord Gray, to Miss Blair of Kinfauns, in Scotland.

The Lady of the Lord Abergavenny safely deliver'd of a Son.

Lady Frances Williams, Wife of Charles Hanbury Williams, Esq; also of a Son.

DEATHS.

GEORGE Newell, Esq; Chancellor of the Diocese of Lincoln.

Starky Mayo, Esq; an eminent Brewer in Crutched-Fryars.

Sir Edward Bayly, Bart. in Ireland: His Grandfather, Dr. Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor, was Preceptor to K. Charles I. and Au-

thor of the Book, call'd, *The Practice of Piety*.

Sir John James, Bart. who has left great Legacies to *Christ-Church, Betblem*, and *St. George's Hospitals*.

John Girardot de Tillieux, Esq; an eminent Merchant, and formerly one of the Directors of the S. S. Company.

Henry Peyton, Esq; second Son to the late Sir Scawster Peyton, Bart. and only Brother to Sir Thomas, the present Baronet.

David Bosanquet, Esq; an eminent Turkey Merchant, and one of the Directors of the London Assurance Office.

Sir William Perkins, formerly an eminent Merchant of this City, who died immensely rich, and bequeath'd the Bulk of his Estate to Henry Weston, Esq; Purse-bearer to the late Lord Chancellor King.

Edward Strong, Esq; who was formerly concern'd in building *Blenheim House*.

James Smyth, Esq; aged 81, the oldest Barrister of the Middle Temple, where he had lived upwards of 50 Years.

Mr. Reynolds, suddenly at his Chambers in the Temple, formerly one of the Clerks of the House of Lords, and the suppos'd Author of several Pamphlets in the Free-thinking Way.

Mrs. Lomley Salisbury, in Hatton-Garden, a very charitable Lady, who yet died immensely rich, and left several considerable charitable Legacies, besides upwards of 10,000*l.* to Miss Sbenton in that Neighbourhood.

Mr. Rutherford, Clerk to the Haberdashiers Company.

George Fothergill, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq; Counsellor at Law.

Mr. Peyton, younger Brother to Sir Selwerton Peyton, Bart. a wealthy Distiller in Fleet-street.

Samuel Laurence, Esq; in *Delamere Forest*, *Cheeshire*, suppos'd to have held the most Pasture Land in his own Hands of any Man in the Kingdom.

John Wicker, Esq; at *Horsham* in *Suffex*, Lord of the Manor of *Stepney* in *Middlesex*.

Sir Stephen Anderson, Bart. descended from Sir Edmund Anderson, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth*.

Sir William Fowles, Bart. at *Ingleby* near *Northallerton*.

Mr. Richard Hemmings, one of the Common-Council Men for *Bishopsgate Ward*.

Lord Dillon, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, Colonel of a Regiment in the Service of *France*.

Lord Chief Baron Lant, of *Scotland*, reckon'd to have died worth 100,000*l.*

Baldwin, Esq; an eminent Counsellor at Law.

Theodore Brinkman, Esq; first Page to his Majesty.

The Lady of William Finch, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Cockermouth*: She was Sister to the Duke of *Queensberry* and *Dover*.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

MR. John Potter, eldest Son of the Archbishop of Canterbury, install'd Archdeacon of the Diocese of Oxford.—John Palmer, M. A. presented to the Rectory of St. Michael's in Gloucester.—Mr. Gibson, presented by his Father, the Bishop of London, to the Rectory of St. Martin's, Ludgate.—Mr. Rob. Polhill, to the Rectory of Little Parndon in Essex.—Tho. Price, B. L. of Trinity-Hall in Cambridge had a Dispensation to hold the Vicarage of Buckingham together with the Rectory of Toscot, both in the County of Bucks.—Samuel Eyre, M. A. to the Rectory of Blagbely in Bucks.—Mr. Joseph Railton, to the Rectory of Knaresdale in Northumberland.—Mr. Lewis Owen, to the Rectory of Wexham in Bucks.—George Albert Eyles, M. A. to the Vicarage of Bradwell in Bucks.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

JOHN Dawson, Esq; made Clerk of the Registers in the Exchequer, in the Room of Henry Bury, Esq; decess'd.—John Tape, Esq; succeeds Mr. Dawson, as chief Clerk to the Deputy-Auditor of the Exchequer.—Mr. Ackworth succeeds Mr. Graves, decess'd, as a Clerk for making out Exchequer-Bills.—Mr. Joseph Underwood, appointed Master Keeper of Ludgate Prison, in the Room of Henry Vander Esch, Esq; who resign'd.—Edward Weston, Esq; made Writer of the London Gazette during his Life, in the Room of Samuel Buckley, Esq; decess'd.—Major Lambert chosen by the Directors of the East-India Company, Governor of St. Helena.—Commodore Browne, Commander of the Duke, and Capt. Mead, Commander of the Sandwich, having resign'd, Capt. Pierce and Capt. Slaughter were

appointed to succeed them.—Mr. Harrison, first Lieut. of the *Ruffel*, made Captain of the *Lightning Bomb*.—Rev. Dr. William Hodges, Provost of *Oriel-College* in Oxford, elected Vice-Chancellor of that University, in the Room of the Rev. Dr. Leigh.—Mr. Tonball, of St. John's-College, Cambridge, chosen public Orator to that University.—Mr. Baker, an eminent Attorney, chosen Clerk to the Haberdashers Company.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

SAM. Stone, of Leadenhall-street, Grocer.—Wm. Lowe, late of Goodman's fields, Weaver.—Franc. Billo, of Bristol, Brazier.—John Wignall, of Norwich, Grocer and Distiller.—John Clarke, of St. Clement Danes, Woollen-draper and Stuff-man.—Hugh Lloyd, of Made Lane, in St. Saviour's, Southwark, Dyer.—Peter Berry, of the Royal Exchange, Drug-gift and Dealer in Tea.—Tho. Simpson, late of Bedford, Maltster.—Chas. Morgan, late of Abington, in Monmouthshire, Maltster.—Joseph Cooper, of Chatham, Tallow-chandler.—Edm. Archdeacon, late of King-street, London, Merchant.—John Gifford, late of the Parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex, Brickmaker.—Tho. Evans, late of Pentrebach, in Brecknockshire, Hosier.—Will. Gwinnett, of St. Paul's Church-Yard, Glass-Grinder and Cabinet-Maker.—William Cooke, of St. John's-street, Clerkenwell, Cheesemonger.—Tho. Hankin, of Reading, Joyner.—Geo. Boothby, of St. Clement Danes, Silver-smith and Banker.—Daniel Banfield, late of the Strand, Glover.—Sam. Pitman, of Portsmouth, Wine-Cooper and Merchant.—Will. Gilchrist, late of Bristol, Merchant.—Symon Nathan, of Exon, Merchant.

S T O C K S.

S. Sea 104 $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$	African 10
—Ann. 113 $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$	Royal Aff. 89 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bank 140 a 141 a 40 $\frac{1}{4}$	Lon. ditto 10 $\frac{1}{8}$
—Circ. 21 12s 6d	3 p. C. Ann. 100 a $\frac{1}{4}$
M. Bank 112 $\frac{1}{2}$	Salt Tallies 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
India 159	Emp. Loan 80
—Bonds 41 8s a 9s	Equiv. 112
The Course of E X C H A N G E.	
Amst. 34 10 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Bilboa 39 $\frac{1}{8}$
D. Sight 34 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	Legborn 49 $\frac{1}{8}$
Rotter. 35 a 34 11	Genoa 53 $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
Hamb. 33 a 34	Venice 50 $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
Paris 32 $\frac{1}{16}$ a 32	Lisbon 5s 5d
Bourdx. 31 $\frac{1}{8}$	Porto 5s 4d $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{8}$
Cadiz 40 $\frac{1}{8}$	Antw. 35 4
Madrid 40 $\frac{1}{8}$	Dublin 9 $\frac{1}{4}$

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat 36 40	Pease 20 30
Rye 16 18	H. Pease 15 17
Barley 15 18	H. Beans 20 26
Oats 11 15	B. Malt 18 20
Tares 20 25	P. Malt 20 26

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Sept. 22. to Oct. 27.

Christned	Males 755	Females 684	1439
Buried	Males 1811	Females 2136	3947
Died under 2 Years old			1343
Between 2 and 5			279
5 10			133
10 20			116
20 30			395
30 40			438
40 50			422
50 60			336
60 70			249
70 80			201
80 90			97
90 and upwards			18
			3947

Hay 65 to 68s. a Load.
ABOUT

ABOUT the 20th of last Month, the Hanoverian Minister at *Ratisbon* declared publicly, that his Master the King of Great Britain had not only made the necessary Dispositions for defending his Territories in Germany, but that he would be in a Condition to act offensively, and was resolved to defend with all his Force the Liberty of the Germanick Body; and about the same Time Mr. *Trevor*, the British Minister at the *Hague*, declared to the Deputies of the States General, that his Britannick Majesty had received the Propositions of Mr. *Bussy*, the French Envoy, with no other View than the better to defeat the Designs of France, and that he would enter into no Negotiation with that Minister, without giving Advice thereof to the Republick. These publick Declarations made most People believe, that a War was upon the Point of breaking out in *Westphalia*, which they were confirmed in by Mr. *Trevor*'s having intimated to the said Deputies, about the Beginning of this Month, his great Surprize at their having so readily given Credit to the Report, of a Treaty of Neutrality's having been concluded between his Britannick Majesty and France, with regard to the Electorate of *Hanover*; for that he had written thereupon to have an exact Information of the Affair, and had for Answer, That it was a Report to which no Credit ought to be given, being entirely false. But in a few Days after, to the Surprize of every Body, an Account came from *Hanover*, that the said Treaty of Neutrality had been signed upon the 27th of last Month, by Mr. *Bussy* on the Side of France, and by Mr. *Steinberg* and two other Ministers on the Part of *Hanover*, the Lord *Harrington* having refused to sign it, alledging that his being a British, and not a Hanoverian Minister, rendered it improper for him to sign it. The Articles of this Treaty are not yet publickly known, but we have such Reports from the *Paris Gazette* relating to them, as not only cannot be credited, but ought to be resented by every Man that has a Regard for the Honour of Britain or the Liberties of Europe.

The confederated Army of French and Bavarians have not only made themselves Masters of the upper *Austria*, but are advanced within ten Leagues of *Vienna*, where every Thing is preparing for a vigorous Defence in Case of a Siege. However, as the Season is far advanced, 'tis thought they will not undertake the Siege of a City so well fortified, at this Time of Year; especially as the Hungarian Nobility appear to a Man firmly attached to the Interest of their Queen, and are raising a great Army for her Defence, with all possible Dispatch. Besides, it now seems to be certain, that a Peace is concluded between her Hungarian Majesty and the King of Prussia; for by our last Accounts from

Berlin we are told, that the Prussian Army in *Silesia* separated the 9th Instant, that his Prussian Majesty had the Town of *Neiss* delivered to him the same Day, that the Foot Guards were expected at *Berlin* forthwith, and that some of the Equipages of the Princes of the Blood were arriv'd there from *Silesia*. To which it is added, that Count *Neuperg*, with the Austrian Army under his Command, was marching with all possible Diligence towards *Moravia*, the Frontiers of which Province he reckoned to reach by the 10th or 11th Instant, so that he will be at hand to join the Hungarian Army. And from *Leghorn* we have Advice, that all the Austrian Troops, except one Regiment, are marching from *Italy* to *Tyrol*, where they are to be joined by the Militia of that Province, in order to attack the Bavarian Territories upon that Side.

Soon after the Beginning of this Month, the Russian Court at *Petersburgh* received the joyful News, that all the Difficulties subsisting between them and the Porte were terminated by a Convention signed the 7th of last Month: This Convention was immediately communicated by the Grand Duchess Regent to the French Minister, and at the same Time her Imperial Highness told him, that she felt the more Satisfaction on that Occasion, in as much as nothing could now hinder her from succouring the Queen of Hungary as effectually as she intended.

Thus if one Court in Europe could but act with common Prudence and Resolution, such Measures might yet be taken as would make the French repent their having intermeddled in such a forcible Manner in the Affairs of Germany; but our last Accounts from France and Spain seem to insinuate as if the Queen of Hungary was immediately to be attack'd on the Side of *Italy*; for on the 12th Instant the French Toulon Squadron sailed from thence, steering their Course towards the Coasts of Spain, and the Court of Spain had not only dispatched Orders to their Squadron at *Cadix* to make ready to sail, but had also dispatched Orders for an immediate Embarkation of 12000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, with Artillery, and a great Quantity of Ammunition, at *Barcelona*. But surely, if the King of *Sardinia* has had the Courage to refuse allowing the Spaniards to pass over the Alps, Great Britain will not allow the Troops of her declared Enemy to pass over the Mediterranean, in order to attack her chief Ally.

We have a Report from *Hamburg*, that a new Treaty is on Foot for taking another Body of 6000 Danes into British Pay; but as the Electorate of *Hanover* is now secured by a Neutrality, this Report gains but little Credit.

EN-

ENTERTAINMENT and POETRY.

1. **THE Priest and the Widow.** A Tale. Printed for *E. Conyns*, price 1s.

2. **The Ladies Tales;** exemplifying the Virtues and Vices of the Quality. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1s. 6d.

* 3. **A new Edition of the Works of Mr. George Farquhar.** In 2 Vols. 12mo. Printed for Mess. *Straban, Knapton, and Clark*, price 6s.

4. **The Silph's Resentment;** or, the *Nu-midian Coquet.* A satirical Novel. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6d.

* 5. **The Divine Musick Scholar's Compa-nion.** By *J. Sreeve*. The 2d Edition, with large Additions. Printed for *J. Hodges*, price 2s. 6d.

6. **A Collection of all the Odes and Hymns** taken out of the *Spektators*, and set to Mu-sick by *Mr. Steeles*. Sold by *J. Osborne*, pr. 1s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

* 7. **The Miseries and great Hardships of the inferior Clergy;** and a modest Plea for their Rights and better Usage. In a Letter to the Lord Bishop of *London*. The 2d Edition. By *T. Stackhouse*, M. A. Author of the History of the Bible, and Body of Divinity. Sold by *J. Roberts*, 8vo, price 2s. 6d.

8. **A Vindication of the Quakers Prosecu-tions,** in Answer to the Clergy of the Diocese of *York's* Examination. Printed for *T. Rayl-ton*, price 2s.

9. **An Answer to the Examination of the Remarks on the Account of a Controversy between the Author of the Trial of Mr. Whitefield's Spirit and B. Mills.** Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6d.

10. **The Doctrine of Annuities and Rever-sions.** By *T. Simson*. Printed for *J. Nourse*, price 3s. few'd.

* 11. **Book-keeping methodiz'd.** By *John Mair*, A. M. Sold by Mess. *Astley, Hodges, &c.* The 2d Edit. with Additions, pr. 4s.

12. **A plain Answer to Dr. Middleton's Let-ter from Rome.** Printed for *J. Huggonson*, price 6d.

13. **A faithful Narrative of the unfortunate Adventures of Charles Cartwright,** M. D. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1s.

14. **The Draper's Reply to some Remarks on the Consequences of Trade.** Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6d.

15. **Additions taken from the fourth Edi-tion of Mr. Chambers's Dictionary, &c.** for the Use of the Purchasers of the former Edi-tion, price 1s. 6d.

16. **A new English Grammar for the Use of Foreigners.** By *P. Chawanon*. Sold by *J. Clarke*, price 2s.

17. **The Origin of Building;** or, the Pla-giarism of the Heathens detected. Illustrated

with 36 Folio Copper-Plates. By *J. Wood*, Architect. Sold by Mess. *Innyi, Hitch, &c.* price 1l. 4s. in Sheets.

18. **An Apocalyptical Cabbala;** or, a His-tory of the Millennium. Sold by *G. Parker*, price 3s.

* 19. **Navigation new-modell'd.** By *Hen. Wilson*. The 4th Edition, with the Addition of spherical Trigonometry and Astronomy. Printed for Mess. *Mount, Page, and Mea-dows*, 8vo, price 5s. 6d.

* 20. **Ecbar'd's Gazetteer;** or, *Newman's* Interpreter. In 2 Parts. The 15th Edition, very much enlarg'd, price 3s. 6d.

21. **A genuine History of Thomas Kuli Kan.** Translated from the Dutch. Sold by *B. Dod*, price 1s. 6d.

* 22. **Dyce's Guide to the English Tongue.** The 27th Edition, with Additions. Printed for *R. Ware*, price 1s.

POLITICAL.

23. **A Review of the late Election at Westminster.** Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1s.

24. **Proceedings of the General Meeting of the Electors of Westminster.** Printed for *W. Webb*, price 6d.

25. **The Groans of Germany;** or, an In-quiry of a Protestant German into the original Cause of the present Distractions of Germany. Printed for *J. Huggonson*, price 6d.

SERMONS.

26. **A Sermon preach'd at St. Paul's, on Sept. 2.** By the Rev. Mr. *Romaine*. Printed for *F. Gosling*, price 6d.

27. **A Sermon preach'd Sept. 29. on the Election of the Lord Mayor.** By *J. Town-ley*, A. M. Printed for *F. Gosling*, price 6d.

28. **A Sermon preach'd at the Consecra-tion of St. Paul's Chapel in Sheffield, York-shire.** By *J. Downes*, A. M. Printed for *J. Pemberton*, price 6d.

29. **A Sermon preach'd at Nottingham in Pennsylvania.** By *S. Finley*. Printed for *S. Mason*, price 6d.

30. **Two Sermons on the Scripture Doc-trine of Salvation, &c.** By *Dr. Doddridge*. Sold by *J. Hodges*, price 8d.

THEOLOGICAL.

31. **The Occasional Preacher.** Numb. 4. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 4d.

32. **Error detected in Church Discipline.** Part II. By *B. Miller*. Sold by *J. Lewis*, price 6d.

* 33. **The Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin, with a Supplement.** By *J. Taylor*. The 2d Edition. Sold by *M. Fenner*, price 5s. 6d. N. B. The Supplement may be had alone, price 2s.